

The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME IX

JUNE 1935

NUMBER 2

JULIA LATHROP'S SERVICES TO THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

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IN 1892 the governor of Illinois appointed Julia Lathrop a member of the State Board of Charities, and she assumed the position July 1 of the next year. She rendered distinguished service from 1893 to 1899, with an interim of four years. This service, in the words of Dr. Graham Taylor, was "without compensation other than the heart's own reward for duty well done and opportunity well met." She visited every one of the one hundred and two county farms or almshouses, discussing conditions with their superintendents and ameliorating for the inmates, as best she might, the evil effects which unjust suffering always produces. A friend once graphically wrote:

One likes to think of her going the rounds of those dreary places, talking to the inmates and uncovering intolerable conditions which had always been taken for granted just because no one made it his business to do anything about them. One likes to think of the revelation she must have been to some of the stodgy officials who shuddered at the idea of any change. One wonders, for instance, what they thought of her when to test out a new fangled fire escape in an institution harboring helpless women and girls, she tucked her skirts around her ankles and slid down from an upper floor, to see if the thing really would work and not scare to death the fleeing inmates.

I recall Julia Lathrop's astonishment when among the state institutions she found a large orphanage for the children of war

veterans. The fathers of the youngest of them had fought in the Civil War, which had ended almost thirty years earlier; but some of the veterans represented there were from the Mexican War, and one of the older children proudly based his claim upon the War of 1812. The situation was explained, of course, by the fact that a pension-drawing veteran was considered a great "catch" and in his extreme old age, if eligible as a widower, was sure to be captured by an enterprising young woman who could be assured of a pension for "war widows and orphans" long after the death of the veteran himself. The large orphanage had developed gradually and perhaps inevitably; but Julia Lathrop, concerned to secure the best possible care and education for these wards of the state, was often put to it in her efforts to give them something of the home life and individual attention up to the standard afforded at the moment by the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, of which she was a board member for many years. But, like everything connected even remotely with war, the orphanage was sacrosanct; and to try to break it up for the sake of securing a more advanced type of care for the orphans themselves was called unpatriotic, as was another effort which she made that these healthy young mothers endowed with pensions for themselves and their children should be required to give maternal care to their offspring, as was afterward successfully required in the terms of the mothers' pension law. Of course she understood perfectly well that she was being opposed by intrenched vested interests in the orphanages, and she used to declare that the story of the head of an orphan asylum who prayed that the Lord would send him many orphans in the next year so that he might erect a new wing, was not exaggerated.

Dr. Alice Hamilton tells of a visit in which she accompanied Julia Lathrop to an institution for the insane and her treatment of the inefficient management which she found there:

The experience has long served me as an example of the technique to be employed in investigational work. I used it for years and still use it. We were met by the Superintendent, who was sulky and suspicious. He did however conduct us all over his establishment and gradually under the influence of Miss Lathrop's cordial and uncritical attitude he thawed out and presently he was pouring out all his troubles to her, going out of his way to point out what was

wrong and there was plenty of it to point to. By the time we had returned to the office he was in a softened and almost mellow mood and I, full of admiration for her skilful handling of a difficult situation, expected her to depart leaving behind this friendly atmosphere. But I learned my lesson then. Miss Lathrop sat down in the office and proceeded gently but with devastating thoroughness to go over the whole situation and point out to the superintendent that after all he was the one in authority; if things were rotten it was he who must shoulder the responsibility, and she left him in no doubt at all as to how rotten she thought things were. He listened with amazing meekness, having lost all his truculence under her skilful treatment and being unable to recover it in time. We left him evidently impressed and promising to do his best, certainly not resentful in spite of her severity. Often since then in my dealing with employers in the dangerous trades I have felt myself tempted to rest content with the achievement of a pleasant relation in the place of an initial hostility, to look upon harmony as an end in itself not simply a means to an end, then the memory of Julia Lathrop's example has pulled me up and made me say the disagreeable things which it is so much easier to leave unsaid.

In a little book entitled *Suggestions for Institution Visitors*, which was published by the Public Charities Committee of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs in 1905, Miss Lathrop drew on her own long years of experience in her suggestion as to what to look for in visiting a county poorhouse, a hospital for the insane, or a children's institution.

Enella Benedict, one of the earliest residents of Hull-House, a teacher in the Art Institute of Chicago, has been responsible throughout her years at the settlement for a studio for eager young people some of whom have become well-known artists and all of them finding solace and self-expression through a fine technique. Miss Benedict's interests, however, have been by no means confined to the studio. She says:

I remember how J. Lathrop used to sit like the angel at St. Matthew's ear while A. Hamilton wrote for the *Journal of the American Medical Association* about the insanitary conditions in public institutions and how J. Lathrop later after the articles had been published used to read clippings from "a high American medical authority" at the Farmers' Institutes throughout the state.

The phrase was not an exaggeration, for Alice Hamilton during those days was carrying on the careful research which afterward made her such an authority on industrial diseases that she was called to a professorship in the Harvard School of Public Health, although

up to that moment no woman had ever been a member of the faculty.

Another friend, Judge Bartelme, calls attention to her quiet but really dramatic description of the conditions she found in the institutions for the feeble minded and the insane; how she described the men and women, sitting against the high walls of the long corridors, rocking and rocking all with their hands folded and staring into space because they had nothing else to do day after day.

She gradually became an energetic leader in the movement to remove the insane from county institutions to the more responsible humane and intelligent care the state could give them in state hospitals, although she encountered incredible difficulties everywhere and especially in Cook County.

There were several young physicians in the state hospitals for the insane who were well equipped professionally and eager to render the best possible service. They remember Julia Lathrop with much admiration and gratitude. Among them was Dr. Adolf Meyer, then in the hospital at Kankakee, and in more recent years head of the Phipps Institute at the Johns Hopkins University Hospital. Dr. Meyer says of her:

There are persons who do a tremendously important share of the world's work through what they are as personalities and characters. Through an ability to bring together elements who otherwise could hardly blend and do their individual share, they create a meeting ground for achievement. Julia Lathrop was this type of personality, this type of character, and I was one of the beneficiaries of this rare gift through acquaintance and friendship ever since 1893.

It was in that summer that Miss Lathrop became a member of the Illinois State Board of Charities and Correction, the first woman on that board, quite obviously appointed for merit because of her experience with Hull-House and in spite of the Republican tradition of her family. Her first visit to the institution was looked forward to with that curiosity which is apt to go out to a reformer. She proved to be an open-minded inquirer into existing conditions in the institution of 2200 patients and beyond that in the way the work was being carried on elsewhere; sparing of comment but congenial and with a happy humor never at the expense of others. The welfare of the patients and the efficiency of the nurses and the general administration and the work of the staff and the relation to the public were all equally represented in her attention. There never was a note of resentment or suspicion or fear of any impulsive recommendations; on the contrary a sense of absolute fairness and constructive helpfulness. When Weir Mitchell launched his famous 1894 address to the Asso-

ciation of Superintendents (now the American Psychiatric Association), Miss Lathrop helped me get a hearing for all the physicians—a discussion from the inside instead of the usual council of perfection proffered from outsiders, probably the first time that the actual workers had been asked to offer their own ideas and vision.

Similarly she and Dr. Boerne Bettman put through an examination for interns which brought Dr. Podstata among others into the service.

Dr. Meyer has kindly sent a number of letters he received from Julia Lathrop concerning many matters, including the retention of the research laboratory which was constantly threatened by the politicians. Dr. Meyer says of these letters:

The letters do not give much of an idea of the earnest and constructively minded rôle she played, because somehow Miss Lathrop preferred to discuss things orally rather than in writing. You can see from the letters how she took a very helpful interest in finding out all she could concerning any progressive activities abroad and here and in the personal needs in the work. She helped me to induce Governor Altgeld to have the staff members make a report of opportunities for improvements (published by the Department of Charities) and in many personal ways.

The letters reveal the discouragement she often experienced during her first years on the Board. In one of them Julia Lathrop writes:

There are a lot of such complicated things which I am feebly puttering over, unable to let them alone yet quite sure that the world is not really the better for my fussing and that I am rather worse. This does not sound very gay—and it isn't.

Or again:

I am really greatly bewildered by the political situation and quite at a loss how to steer my own small craft. . . . I can't bear to broach the subject to my father. His disgust, not with me personally but with the situation, would be too trying to us both. . . . This muddle has started me down into a vale of discouragement where everything, including those high ideals of Americanism which we brandished before you, seems a part of the sawdust stuffing of the universal doll. . . . How is Keller? Have you read the ten volumes? Are the boilers in order? Tomorrow I shall fancy you in your laboratory. Here's to you and your snakes and doves. In that tower with your doves about you, you will be like the girl in "The Marble Faun." Have you read that story?

In another letter concerning Dr. Meyer's offer of a position in Worcester which he finally took she wrote:

If you were here I could give you a farewell dish of Institution gossip, very senseless in its causes but serious in its effects. It is not worth writing out. I

shall try to see the Governor soon. I can't understand why so many disagreeable things leading to Nowhere seem to run to me as a way station. I am sorry enough to read what you say of KKK but it is like the rest I dare say. This necessity of earning a living sometimes holds men and women vicelike in such intolerable attitudes that one longs to embrace the program of any school of reformers which undertakes to minimize it.

The following letter was written from a "downstate" county:

There is an awfully depressing and rather lonely side to this journeying but if it were not for the poorhouses and jails it would be almost nice. This is an instance in which the charm of the play would be enhanced by leaving out the character of Hamlet, for the weather is delicious, the prairies are at their best and all the accessories are fine. Yesterday I drove fourteen miles and back to a poorhouse. The air was like wine, even the poorhouse seemed almost cheerful. I quite longed for some companion a little less stolid than my driver, but even he yielded to the crabapple's fragrance and said, "It did smell awful good."

One letter is concerned with an individual case, a woman whom she had tried to place in a home for incurables. She incloses a letter from Mr. Higinbotham, the president of the Board, regretting that they could not take the patient. Julia Lathrop writes to Dr. Meyer:

Can't you go to see her and give your opinion as to whether the mental condition approaches insanity or whether it is simply the increasing feebleness of epilepsy quite without insanity? I wish you were within talking distance this morning, there are many things about the Detention Hospital matter which I would like to talk over with you. I am very hopeful that all this may result not in mere quarreling over the trifling matter of two or three attendants' behavior but in reality taking out of politics the care of the insane in the D.H. The best practicable measures seems to me to be to get the commissioners to turn the care over to the Illinois Training School for Nurses. I know something better could be easily imagined but I think this may be effected and I hope we can get some alienist in the city appointed as visiting physician there. What do you think of that?

In another letter she writes:

I shouldn't inflict this uninvited attack if I had a little less assurance, I dare say, or if I wanted information a little less. Do you remember once promising to tell me something of the sort of training given attendants in the foreign hospitals for insane. If you have anything at hand bearing on that subject which would help an ignoramus floundering now and liable to be drowned in plain sight of the County Board, I hope you will be humane enough to let me have it. . . . Now here is something I have just thought of—it may not seem as clever to you as it does to me: would you consider giving weekly lectures, or occasional lectures, before the nurses of the Detention Hospital?

In 1895 there was one of those distressing demands for an investigation of the care of the insane who were then still retained in certain wards at the county infirmary at Dunning. I was a member of a committee to find out all we could about the care of women patients, and we spent several days and nights in the institution. I naturally talked over every detail with Julia Lathrop, before Mrs. Flower and myself turned in our minority report. As a member of the State Board, Julia Lathrop of course welcomed the aroused public opinion which this investigation secured, hoping that it might push forward the care of the insane into the hands of alienists. I recall a conversation late one night after our committee had returned from Dunning. Probably because I was on the eve of typhoid fever, which put me to bed the very next day, I may have talked somewhat foolishly of the four hundred women we had interviewed, many of whom had lost their minds as a result of puerperal fever, following childbirth. Why should the normal bearing of children result in such disaster? I wanted to know. Julia Lathrop calmly replied that it was not the birth of children but the neglect of the mother afterward; puerperal fever was in itself a disgrace and an affront to a civilized community.

Julia Lathrop was a brilliant *raconteuse* and her journeys through the state, especially that part sometimes called Egypt, afforded her fine material. She once asked the driver on a country wagon when she was riding through a southern county where she could find a telephone.

"We did have one between here and the next town but they never had anything we wanted and we didn't have anything they needed, so by and by some dumb scoundrel stole it for a clothes-line and we never put it in again."

A man in the same county, with whom she was wading through almost impassable mud to visit the poorhouse, reproached her because she had not brought her high rubber boots with her, adding, "Every woman needs a pair, anyway, to do her milking in."

Such incidents entertained her hugely, as did the remark of a boat captain on the Ohio River who said: "This morning you are in one town and tonight you will be in another town, forty miles away; how far do you expect to go in one day?"

But she obtained more than entertainment; it gave her genuine courage when an old woman who, after a "visit outside" had persistently refused to go back to the poorhouse, returned at once when she heard that Julia Lathrop was expected to visit the county institution. She explained that she would have gone before if it had been known that Miss Lathrop was coming to "investigate," for of course she would give orders for more blankets: "She wasn't one to leave the poor to freeze."

She was concerned always about the care of the colored people in the public institutions. She used to say that while only a few of them would actually send relatives to these institutions, in imagination they all included themselves and their children. In line with that she once said, "A state institution which discriminates unjustly against one colored man loses the affection for Illinois of half-a-million citizens." The colored people of Chicago remember gratefully her determination to allow no discrimination to be made against colored children in a camp maintained by the county commissioners. An effort was made to have the colored children from all districts sent to the camp at the end of the summer—a rather unfavorable time when it was likely to be cold and rainy. She effectively blocked this effort and insisted on having the colored children sent to the camp according to the turn of their several districts throughout the summer. This action was not only in the interest of fair play for colored people, but it was more than that. I have never known anyone who was so sensitive for the honor and even-handed justice in public administration as Julia Lathrop was. She protected its inclusiveness as part of the ideal of public service.

In the years when Julia Lathrop was visiting poorhouses throughout the state trying to establish a farm for epileptic cases and more intelligent care for the insane, the residents at Hull-House remember that she wore what was almost a uniform, a dark-blue tailored suit with Chinese-blue shirtwaists, very becoming to her brunette skin, her dark hair and eyes, although we recall her once saying that in her next incarnation she intended to insist upon a blonde outfit because it seemed more useful in politics. She was always very well dressed by that ultimate test of good dressing in clothes appropriate to the occasion on which they are worn. She

believed that the public woman in her effort not to be careless had tended to become overdressed.

In addition to the hard work of discovering actual conditions and securing the much-needed changes, Julia Lathrop everywhere encountered the heartbreaking results of political corruption and the pull of self-seeking politicians. The state institutions were practically governed by appointed trustees who often lived in the town in which the given institution was situated. To be made a trustee had become a recognized method of rewarding local politicians, who in turn took care of worthy henchmen by awarding contracts for coal, groceries, and supplies and by appointments as gardeners, janitors, and attendants to the inmates of the institution. "Of course these men cannot possibly follow through what all this means," Julia Lathrop once said "insufficient heating for people who are old and ill, poor food for growing children, and, worst of all, neglect for the helplessly insane and, if only because the attendants do not know how properly to care for their charges, that they will constantly yield to the temptation to roughness and cruelty." One man who as an institution trustee had successfully defied all her efforts to better conditions was afterward elected governor of the state. "His election only proves that using the state institutions for low-down politics is successful. From every other point of view his election is a dead loss," was Julia Lathrop's only comment.

For various reasons it must have been difficult for her to accept her state position from the governor who, because he pardoned three men who had been sent to the penitentiary as anarchists, was therefore most unjustly regarded as an anarchist himself, not only throughout the state of Illinois and the nation, but laboring under "the obdurate and terrible tyranny of an epithet," this reputation went far beyond the bounds of either.

Julia Lathrop always found Governor Altgeld deeply concerned for the unfortunate wards of the state and much interested in the better administration of the state institutions; although from the very beginning of his term, when he had been besieged by the members of his political party, "lean and ravenous from nearly forty years of enforced wanderings in the wilderness," he had unhappily yielded to their demands. There was a widespread and quite justifi-

able indignation over the loss of Dr. Richard Dewey, who had been for fourteen years medical superintendent of the hospital for the insane at Kankakee. My father had been a member of a committee sent from the Illinois senate to locate a new institution and had insisted that the coming superintendent, who had been an assistant at the state hospital at Elgin, should be consulted in the construction of the hospital itself. Dr. Dewey had made it the first state institution in the United States to be built on a cottage or detached ward plan. During his administration he had abolished the use of restraint among the two thousand patients and had already made the beginning of a training school for nurses. All of this and other promising efforts in the state institutions were swept away by the change in political parties. Dr. Dewey's loss to the state was widely discussed not only because he was already a distinguished alienist but through an incident which only a few months before had brought the Kankakee hospital to the attention of the newspaper reading public. At Christmas, in 1891, the well-known Chicago artist, George P. Healy, had presented a number of portraits and landscapes to the hospital. This event was heralded throughout the country, as it well might have been, and drew public attention to the fine work carried on at the hospital by Dr. Dewey, the knowledge of which before this had been largely confined to the medical profession and to experts in hospital administration. I have ventured to copy a paragraph from a fine letter in which Dr. Dewey expressed his appreciation of the gift to Mr. Healy.

You have conferred a distinction upon this hospital above all others of the kind in the world. To my knowledge there is only one that possesses any important work of a painter of the first rank. At Worcester, Mass., in the chapel there is a painting of Allston's, also two or three good portraits of Miss Dorothy Dix, and there is at Indianapolis a good copy of "*Pinel à la Salpêtrière*." That is all. Kankakee has therefore a great distinction.

Governor Altgeld repaired the damage to the state institutions as best he could by energetically backing the first civil service law enacted in Illinois, which passed the legislature in March, 1895. While this first civil service law was only a permissive one to be adopted or not by the cities as they chose, a vigorous Civil Service Reform League in Chicago made it of genuine value after the city

had adopted it by popular vote. It was a decade later, however, in 1905, before its provisions were made applicable to appointees in state institutions.

Governor Altgeld attempted to accelerate this extension of the civil service provisions by a unique and somewhat naïve action.

In December, 1893, the Superintendent of every state institution in Illinois was directed by the Governor to make a thorough study of theories and methods adopted by the most advanced similar institutions in this country and abroad . . . to see wherein such institutions differed from ours and if anything was found elsewhere that was thought to be an improvement upon the methods pursued here, to at once adopt it; also to submit a full report of such investigation on or before April 1st, 1894.

The resulting reports were published in collected form by the state and widely distributed so that it was believed that not only Illinois but the country at large benefited greatly by what was for its time and place a "unique experiment." This action was founded on Governor Altgeld's unwavering conviction that "wherever there is a wrong pointed out to all the world, you can trust the people to right it."

Affairs moved rapidly during those first few years of Julia Lathrop's officeholding. A school for delinquent girls was established in Geneva, Illinois, in 1896; and with the constant participation of the State Board of Charities, the Altgeld administration broke away from the custom of increasing the size of hospitals for the insane and built two new ones at Peoria and Watertown. The Democratic legislature also passed the first parole law in the state, the need for which Governor Altgeld in his experience as lawyer and judge had always felt very strongly.

In an address delivered twenty-five years ago Julia Lathrop said:

I know of no man in the public life of Illinois who did so much to give women an opportunity as John P. Altgeld. . . . He did it because he believed it to be right and he modestly never counted it an achievement. One of Governor Altgeld's first official acts was to appoint women on state boards. He was the first Governor to name a woman as one of the trustees of the University of Illinois. He was the first to name a woman factory inspector. He insisted that there be a woman physician in every state institution where women and children were confined. All of these appointments had been swept away by the spoils system.

In spite of the first attempt at civil service regulation in Illinois it was with the "spoils system" in one form or another with which Julia Lathrop continued to struggle throughout her entire period of service on the Board. The situation may be illustrated by the experiences of Dr. Vaclav H. Podstata, one of the first professional appointments made in Cook County which was entirely free from political influence. He writes from California:

It was largely Miss Lathrop who induced the State Board of Charities and the State Administration to arrange for competitive examination for the position of medical interne to serve in the various state hospitals. The first examination of that type took place in April, 1895. I had just graduated from medical college and had heard of this opportunity only a few days before the examination. The news interested me exceedingly but I entertained little hope of success. I doubted my ability to compete with those who had special preparation, but even more I feared political and other influences which I was told were always at work and would have much to do with the appointment. However, I appeared at the place and hour for the examination. The examiner happened to be Dr. Adolf Meyer. I presented my situation to him very frankly but with shaking knees. However, Dr. Meyer merely smiled and in his usual hearty way assured me that he had no objection to my taking the examination and couldn't see any reason why anyone else should object. He added that it was entirely up to me. This assurance naturally reduced my fear although I did not feel free from it until I received the notice that I had been successful. I was certainly very lucky in receiving a position as interne at Kankakee. It brought me in personal contact with Dr. Meyer. There was no longer any question about this examination being without favor. I had not the least bit of political influence and was practically unknown to any prominent member of the medical profession.

We were not overly nicely received at Kankakee by the Superintendent, Dr. Gapen. He declared quite frankly that he had not asked for us and that he was quite able to make his own selections of medical assistants. . . . Dr. Gapen was succeeded by Dr. William P. Stearns, who made an earnest effort to elevate the scientific work of the institution. However, on the pretense of a minor disturbance in the institution, his political enemies succeeded in compelling his resignation. It was largely from that time on and up to 1902 that the conditions at the institution became unbearable. The food served the patients was often uneatable. During the summer, especially when some political campaign was going on, large numbers of our attendants were dressed up in duck trousers and blue serge coats, equipped with canes and set out to do special marching at county fairs. Attractive women attendants were trained to dance maypole dances. There were times when our attendant forces were reduced to unsafe proportions.

In the meantime politicians were building up tremendous political machines and incidentally were not forgetting themselves. Some remarkable things happened. On no salary, certain public officials became quite well to do if not actually rich. Also they succeeded in building beautiful residences for themselves and paying off their old debts. These conditions induced Miss Lathrop to start an investigation at one of the state hospitals. This occurred in 1902 after I had left the hospital. A perfectly tremendous effort was made to prevent the charges from being proved and everything was done to intimidate witnesses. I was requested by Miss Lathrop to appear as a witness. Almost at the same time I received a threatening message from the political circle of that institution. I was threatened with arrest and imprisonment on all sorts of charges if I dared appear. However, I did appear and testified. I received a letter from Miss Lathrop thanking me for my appearance and testimony although I was prevented from testifying on certain important matters which should have been considered. . . .

Shortly after that I received a telegram and a letter from Miss Lathrop urging me to reconsider my refusal of the superintendent at Dunning. My refusal was based upon the urgent advice of some of my friends not to accept a position so notoriously political and impossible. I was told that everyone else had failed and I would undoubtedly be broken also. Another reason was an attractive offer in terms of salary and better position at the Lake Geneva Sanitorium. However, I felt that with Miss Lathrop's support I should have a fair opportunity at Dunning and therefore I accepted, occupying the position on July 1st, 1903.

Of this appointment Dr. Hugh T. Patrick, a leading alienist in Chicago, said at the time: "A medical man without pull, on the mere recommendation of medical men equally without pull, has been appointed to a most important position in the county." Of course it could not possibly have taken place without the staunch co-operation of the physicians of Chicago and of the newly elected "reform" county board, of which Henry G. Forman was president. A very touching letter was written to Dr. Podstata by Julia Lathrop, doubtless with some foreboding. After congratulating him upon his recent marriage with the concluding phrase,

I hope that I may meet your wife soon, and while I congratulate you upon general principles, I would like a chance to congratulate her personally on the basis of all the good things I know about you.

She writes further:

I am very sorry to hear tonight that you feel that you cannot afford to leave Lake Geneva. Is your decision final? The other place needs the right man so tremendously and the crisis is so great that I confess that I had just allowed

myself to believe that you would take it. I am back in town tonight from a week in Rockford and Dr. Billings has called me up by telephone to say you feel you can't come. There is much to repel about the place, of course, but not the sort of thing to repel you. However, I know that you have considered carefully and I am not venturing to urge a different decision. I am sorry that you can't come and trust that you and Mrs. Podstata will come to Hull-House some day when you are in town.

Like other early laws for the better regulation of civil service, the first provisions operated in Cook County often failed of their purposes and sometimes landed the adherents of the reform in ridiculous situations which were eagerly seized upon by the press. Thus Dr. Podstata, on his first Thanksgiving Day as superintendent of Dunning, objected to the mince pies produced by the baker in the infirmary, which led to a charge of inefficiency before the Civil Service Board. The newspaper headline, "How To Cook a Mince Pie a Civil Service Problem," at least made the words "civil service" familiar to a careless public, Julia Lathrop said.

In the summer of 1898 Julia Lathrop went to Scotland to see what she could of the Scotch care of the insane, and especially their "boarded out" system. She also went to Belgium, where she visited Gheel, a colony which has been known and described in medical and lay journals for many years, but it has always been said that the village was necessarily unique and that such care could only be the result of centuries of experience fortified by an ancient and semi-religious origin. Julia Lathrop was therefore delighted with the new village colony Lierneux, where a colony for the insane had been opened in Southern Belgium to correspond with the one at Gheel in the northern part.

Julia Lathrop wrote a paper on her European investigation which is to be found in the *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities of the State of Illinois*. It is full of information as to cost per capita, type of patient for whom village care is recommended, and many other such matters, but through it all there is a pleading, almost wistful, note. She reminds her fellow-members:

Many of the best alienists as well as many lay students of insanity deprecate the institutional tendency with its temptation to use brick walls and keys as substitutes for personal attention, on the one hand, and as reasons for keeping all the insane in institutions, on the other hand.

As will be seen, the example of Gheel and Lierneux in Belgium and of Scotland show an opportunity, now unknown to us, for that considerable fraction of the insane who do not need the restraint of locked walls and who can be happier mingling with sane people and sharing their life to some degree. Yet in all these instances the patients are protected by adequate medical supervision from neglect and from association with the inmates in poorhouses.

It is only fair to say that during these same years Julia Lathrop was greatly interested in the Wisconsin plan, which brought the insane who were supposed to need institutional care back into their counties on the theory that it was better to have the patients living near their relatives and old neighbors than it was to have them massed into state institutions. Many of these small hospitals for the custody and care of the insane have been erected on the land of the county poor-farms, although it was by no means an essential part of the plan.

Julia Lathrop often visited the most successful of these county units for the care of the insane in Wisconsin and approved in so far as they anticipated county health centers.

When Julia Lathrop and I were abroad together in 1900 she had visited the new colony in France at Dun-sûr-Auron and another in the adjacent village of Ainay; she also visited colonies in Germany, especially the ones in the villages near Berlin, and had attended in Paris the conference on *L'Assistance Familiale Urbaine pour les Aliénés Inoffensifs*, held during the Exposition.

Two years later, in 1902, she gave a paper on village care of the insane which is to be found in the *Annual Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*.

The paper is most touching in its understanding of the patients themselves. She described her visit at Dun:

At Dun on January 1, 1900, there were 654 patients, of whom four were men, but all the others were old women, for which class the colony was designed. I saw the village in June, 1900, eight years after the first patients were sent. An old inn opened off the main street whose row of dwellings were broken on the opposite side by the church and a pretty open square. This inn had been turned into a superintendent's house and a little hospital. In the big gardens beyond, another hospital for the care of patients who should become too feeble or too demented for family care was nearly completed. One assistant physician was with the superintendent; the other was stationed at one of the outlying hamlets where patients were boarded and from which he could more easily supervise his district. As we walked down the village street toward dusk, we met a woman

leading a little child who hopped contentedly along by her side. The woman was a boarded-out patient and she explained that a neighbor was ill and she was helping her by caring for the neighbor's child. Notice that the patient was not the compelled nurse of her own hostess' child, but that she was lending her friendly aid to a sick friend.

The superintendent of Ainay told her:

Some of our boarders work with their guardians in the fields, tend the sheep, the ducks, turkeys, etc., receiving in return gratuities—coffee, a few sous. But when work with the guardians is lacking, or if the patients do not want to work for them, they seek an occupation among the people of the village. We have those who cut wood, mow, work in the gardens, carry water, occupy themselves with household tasks. Some work with the shoemakers, tinkers, etc. An uphoisterer has recovered the furniture in all the salons of Ainay. One gives lessons in writing. We have one who keeps accounts and writes up the books of the town merchants. A former professor gives lessons in French to the children of two notable merchants of the place. An old regimental sub-director of music gives violin lessons. A mechanic repairs all the sewing machines.

She tells of a Scotch village:

In one of the cottages a vigorous old woman was seen. She was lighting her pipe at the fireplace with a comfortable air of possession. We were told that when first sent from the asylum she had been rather "wild," lifted her stick when crossed or annoyed, etc. Now she was a quiet, orderly person, much interested in some young lads who were also boarded in the house, and with her corner by the fire, her pipe, and her grandmotherly fussing over the boys she readily had a nibble at some of the joys which appertain to old age.

In another cottage three men were boarded. The head of the house raised fruit for market, and one of the boarders who had been a gardener now helped in the kind of work he knew how to do. The men all came in to see the commissioner and the secretary, but one, John, soon slipped out quietly. The hostess said "Would you like to see where John is gone?" and took me through a passage and back garden into the neat cottage where her daughter-in-law lived. John was found sitting on a little cricket rocking a low wooden cradle in which slept a baby. The young mother said that the baby was fretful and she did not know however she could get through her work without John to "mind" him. That baby was John's supreme interest and patient care.

Not long after, I was visiting an American asylum of the usual baronial castle type, and in a locked ward of rather violent patients was an elderly woman of neat appearance, knitting very skilfully. I asked her where she learned to knit and she said with a jerk of her thumb, "About forty mile over there." When I confessed that I could not knit, she said, "Well, where was you raised?" and when I answered "At the northern end of the state," she retorted with a jovial smile to take out the sting, "Well do they work or do they steal for a living up

there?" The attendants said she could live perfectly well outside "if she only had someone to look after her a bit."

In the main building a few hundred feet distant apparently, but really as remote as Europe, she had heard that there was a new baby in the family of one of the staff physicians, and sent a pair of pretty socks of her knitting to this child she probably would never see. She was far more expensively housed than John. The great building in which she lived was set in the midst of a splendid park instead of a humble cottager's garden, her food and clothing came out of a far higher per capita than his; but as for me or my kin, I would choose the lot of John.

Julia Lathrop also drew the attention of the Conference of Charities and Correction to what she called unrecognized ways of placing out:

In unrecognized ways there has been a placing out going on in our country for many years. For example, in visiting one of the Wisconsin county asylums, I asked the superintendent if he thought boarding out was practicable. He said "No, I don't believe that would answer." Looking over the big farm where insane men could be seen working independently at half a dozen occupations, I said "Don't you ever send any of these men out to work for any of the farmers around?" "Oh, yes," he said, "I've sent out about fifty in the years I've been here, and most of them have done well."

It was when "Spoils" politics had so interfered with the better care for the wards of the state she had so painstakingly developed that in 1901 Julia Lathrop resigned from the State Board of Charities as a protest against what she could not prevent. We were all startled by her resignation. I remember expressing to her my admiration, "J. Lathrop I didn't think you would do it," to which she replied, with a suspicious terseness, "I am not sure that I can." I knew perfectly well that she could not voluntarily have left all those helpless people if her desire to secure them protection from political corruption had been founded upon the mere theory of civil service reform, but, based as it was upon a determination to save living human flesh from destruction, she was able to carry it through.

She resigned when Richard Yates became governor of Illinois, and Dr. Emil Hirsch, leading member of the State Board of Charities, resigned with her. To quote a leading newspaper of Chicago: "Miss Lathrop stood out always as a vigorous independent member of the State Board of Charities, and the newspapers in 1901

carried the news of her resignation when she thought the public welfare services were being prostituted for political purposes."

Julia Lathrop had always avoided that pitfall for the feet of the righteous—the belief that she was indispensable to a given undertaking and that no one could take her place, although she, of all the people in the state of Illinois, might at that particular moment have been tempted to this devastating belief.

Her letter to Governor Yates in resigning her membership on the State Board of Public Charities adequately explained the reasons for her withdrawal. The letter, which bore date of July 18, 1901, follows:

MY DEAR SIR:

I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Board of Public Charities of Illinois, and I beg leave to state at some length the reason for my action.

Since my first appointment on this board, rather more than eight years ago, there have been two administrations in this state, one of each political party. During all that period the institutions have been used for party ends, although the growth of political control has never been so apparent as now when there is another change of administration without a change of party.

The control of the expenditure of \$2,500,000 yearly and one of thousands of appointments would be a responsible task in any purely commercial undertaking; but when the money is to be spent and the people hired for the great function of humanely, wisely and economically caring for ten thousand sick and helpless human beings it is certainly worthy of skilled and disinterested attention. Yet it is common knowledge that the charitable institutions, whose cost is nearly one-third of the state's budget, are and have been for the last eight years "in politics."

When you expressed yourself publicly in Chicago before election as in favor of taking the charitable institutions out of politics many people were greatly encouraged; and when after election a friend of yours came to me, as he said, at your request, to ask what legislation on this subject the board would suggest and stated that he knew you to be in favor of a merit system, I was again encouraged.

A bill was prepared by a committee of the board which was urged by the press and which was recognized by its friends and foes alike in the legislature as being an honest effort to provide a workable rule for placing the institutions on a merit basis and for keeping the enormous contract expenditures out of politics. To the surprise of the committee, you showed no interest in the bill and, indeed, retarded its introduction until its passage or even its discussion was impossible. Your attitude in this matter was a keen disappointment.

I still trusted, however, that for some reasons of expediency you desired

merely to postpone new legislation on this subject. The memorable example of the lamented Governor Mount of Indiana, who spoke in Illinois upon this subject last year at two important gatherings, showed that a Governor, by personal will and determination, could set the institutions too high for political arms to reach, and that without the aid of any law; and I again hoped that when the organization of our board received your consideration you would then make plain to the public that you had begun a new policy.

It was, however, general gossip for months before the statement appeared in print that you had offered the secretaryship of the State Board of Charities to Mr. J. Mack Tanner. No name could have been suggested which would so intimately represent the standards and traditions of the preceding administration—into the details or the public disapproval of which it is unnecessary to enter here. His election yesterday by the barest majority—three members being present and two voting for him—was by your direction, as was stated in the meeting, and must be taken to be an explicit notice that no change of policy is purposed.

I believe the new secretary to be an amiable and worthy young man personally but the board must view its secretary as its responsible executive officer. He is the source of its information as to the accounts which it must approve and as to the general conduct and spirit of the institutions and he holds the reputation of the board in his hands. Why should the members of an unsalaried board be asked to place their personal reputations in the keeping of an officer whom they have no voice in choosing? The law creating this board is certainly explicit in its provisions that the board shall independently select its employees.

When I came to the office yesterday I found a young man, grandson of the President of the board, placed there by you as a clerk at a salary stipulated by you. I do not doubt that he is a worthy young man, but this clerkship is new to the board, was created without its voice or knowledge, and the clerical work of the board has been well done without it heretofore.

The board is an unsalaried body of five persons, appointed for a period of five years each. This term was manifestly specified to preserve the permanency of the board and its separation from gubernatorial changes, yet the resignations of all the members, save of one whose term had expired, were requested by you in strict accord with the policy of your predecessor.

The board has no significance unless it serves as a safeguard and guarantee to the public that the institutions are well managed and that the patients are receiving proper care. On the assumption of this guarantee friends of patients constantly appeal to me as a member of the board. Upon the helpless patients and inmates comes the final weight of every unnecessary expense or extravagance, of every counterbalancing effort to economize unduly.

I do not resign because, as has been said in the press—perhaps truly enough—a dictated appointment is an insult to the board. This is too important a matter for personal pique or even official dignity to enter, and I certainly have

neither in this case. I feel, however, that my continued presence on this board will appear at least to indicate a complacency towards methods whose evils I have seen too long and which I have tried earnestly, but of course vainly, to overcome. I am not willing longer to appear to the public, and far less to the anxious friends of patients, to give an assurance which no members of such a board, however far they may exceed me in capacity, can give under the present system.

The work of the board has become a matter of the warmest personal interest to me, and I leave it with pronounced regret and only under a conviction that it is my plain duty at this time to make such protest as I may against the continuance of a system which, from the Board of Charities to the last servant of the smallest institution, leaves no one free to do his task regardless of all save its faithful performance.

In point of fact the break was only temporary. When Charles Deneen became governor of Illinois in 1905 she was restored to the Board and served five years more until the system of a salaried Board of Control was worked out in 1909. Several provisions of the charities act of 1909 were a great satisfaction to Julia Lathrop; the charities commission was given general supervision over a board of three non-salaried visitors, one a woman, for each state charitable institution. The visitors were required by law to visit the institution of which they were visitors monthly if it served a district or part of the state and quarterly if the institution served the entire state. The state commission was also given supervision over boards of county auxiliary visitors whose duty it was to visit annually and report on the jail and almshouse in their county.

She was also happy over the distinguished personnel of the commission which was appointed by Governor Deneen early in 1910. It was composed of Dr. Frank Billings, Dr. John T. McAnally, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Mr. John B. Harris, and Mr. John N. Rapp. Three of them had been members of the State Board of Charities from 1906 to 1909 and were well informed, as she knew, on the state charitable service.

It was years later, however, before the colony for epileptics for which she had worked so long was finally established. The act was passed in May, 1913, and went into effect July 1 of that same year. It repealed an act which had been passed April 19, 1899, from which so much had been hoped and which had been found to be unwork-

able largely because of political ambitions for its location in various parts of the state.

That Julia Lathrop's position in the end was understood is made clear in this editorial from the *Chicago Daily News*:

In all her official positions Miss Lathrop insisted upon keeping patronage dispensers at arm's length. She was fearless and uncompromising in her independence, but she had tact and rare diplomatic skill. Her methods were adroitly conciliatory. She was a staunch advocate of merit in place of public employment and her humanitarianism was thoroughly practical.

Mr. A. L. Bowen, at present director of the Department of Public Welfare and formerly superintendent of Charities in Illinois, said of her in 1932:

Miss Lathrop always has been an inspiration. Long before I ever entered the state service I knew her ideals and possessed considerable information on her methods in the state hospitals. I was a newspaper man here in Springfield during the Yates and Deneen administrations. The controversies that raged during those years over the administration of the State charitable institutions always were among my reportorial assignments. In that way I learned very much about these institutions and became interested in them. Finally when I became associated with them I was always more or less conscious that many of the things I tried to do had been tried out by Miss Lathrop. The fact is that even to this day our program in the State hospital consists very largely of the principles and the ideals which Miss Lathrop championed as early as 1900.

HULL-HOUSE
CHICAGO

CHILDREN OF THE DEPRESSION: A STUDY OF 259 FAMILIES IN SELECTED AREAS OF FIVE CITIES¹

KATHARINE F. LENROOT

THAT unemployment and greatly reduced earnings due to wage cuts and part-time employment mean suffering and deprivation to children is obvious, and has been emphasized frequently during the period through which we are passing. Health agencies, child welfare organizations, and relief workers bear testimony to the heavy toll which unemployment takes of childhood and youth. During the depression of 1921-22, the Children's Bureau studied the effects of unemployment on child welfare in Racine, Wisconsin, and Springfield, Massachusetts, finding lowered standards of living, frugality in food even to the point of deprivation, dangerous saving of fuel, drastic economies in clothing and household supplies, illness, debt, and discouragement.²

In the spring of 1932 the Children's Bureau made studies of the effects of unemployment on child welfare in coal-mining communities and other single-industry communities in several states.³ The following year a nation-wide study of the effects of the depression on families of railroad employees was made by the Children's Bureau, in co-operation with other agencies.⁴ Evidences of undernourishment among children and illness among children and adults, resulting from hardships growing out of unemployment, have been assembled by the Children's Bureau and the Public Health Service.⁵

¹ This study was made by the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau, of which Agnes K. Hanna is director.

² Emma O. Lundberg, *Unemployment and Child Welfare* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 125; Washington, 1923).

³ Grace Abbott, "Improvement in Rural Public Relief, the Lesson of the Coal mining Communities," *Social Service Review*, VI (1932), 183-222.

⁴ Carter Goodrich, *Earnings and Standard of Living of 1000 Railway Employees during the Depression* (U.S. Department of Labor Publication; Washington, 1934).

⁵ Martha M. Eliot, "Child Health 1933-1934: Critical Review," *Journal of Pediatrics*, IV (June, 1934), 817.

With approximately 8,000,000 children under the age of sixteen years and 860,000 boys and girls sixteen and seventeen years of age on relief rolls, and other millions in families living in conditions of extreme economic distress, it is important that there be clear public understanding of the human costs of unemployment in terms of the health, vitality, and wholesome development of our future citizens. A considerable amount of statistical material concerning relief families is available through tabulations and special studies by the relief administrations, but close-up views of some of the families on relief or on the borderline of destitution are also needed, to illuminate popular understanding of the social consequences of economic cataclysm, and to indicate the points of greatest stress, where the social and health agencies of the community should reinforce the efforts of individual families and the general administration of unemployment relief.

With these general purposes in mind, the Children's Bureau undertook in the fall of 1934 brief studies of families in certain areas of four cities, of which one (Racine) had been covered in the study of 1921-22, and a smaller number of families (all Negro) in a fifth city. Information on some of the points covered by the study was obtained also in an inquiry on the effect of the codes on industrial home work made by the Children's Bureau in several eastern cities at about the same time, the report of which is now in preparation.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITIES STUDIED

The cities selected for study were Atlanta and Memphis, having populations between 250,000 and 300,000, and Racine and Terre Haute, with 60,000-70,000 population. The two southern cities are comparable not only in total population but also in the proportion of Negroes in the population—38.1 per cent in Memphis and 33.3 per cent in Atlanta. The cities presented wide variations in the extent of unemployment and the consequent need for unemployment relief, and in social resources and public programs for services to families. In order to obtain somewhat more representative information concerning Negro families, of which none was studied in Racine or Terre Haute, the study was extended to include some families of this race in Washington, D.C., but no special study was made of the welfare services in this city.

Economic situation.—Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, manufactures cotton goods and cottonseed-oil products, furniture, and lumber products, and it is also a large and important industrial distribution center for the South. It has been seriously affected by the depression.

Memphis is one of the largest cotton markets in the country, and also has important hardwood-lumber industries. On the surface it did not show seriously the effects of the depression at the time of the study, but this happened to be the busy season of the cotton industry. The hardwood-lumber business was dull, but the retardation in this industry was considered to be a temporary matter.

Racine is a typical industrial city with diversified industries which have employed a large proportion of skilled labor. Its industries include the manufacture of shoes and rubber products, foundries, and one of the largest printing establishments in the country. The industries had been seriously affected by the general economic situation, but it was believed that conditions were definitely improving.

Industry in Terre Haute has been centered largely in mining, and in distilling and brewing and related activities, which employ a large amount of common labor. The depression in Terre Haute began as early as 1920. At the time of the study it was reported that new industries were coming to Terre Haute, and there were indications that conditions were better than they had been for many years.

In Washington, D.C., unemployment is most serious among those employed in the building trades and in domestic and personal service, and affects very gravely the Negro population, which constituted, in 1930, 27.1 per cent of the total population.

Public relief.—Before 1933 none of the five cities had a well-organized public department responsible for the relief of the poor, but in three of the cities (Racine, Terre Haute, and Atlanta), a township or city official had been granting some public assistance to needy persons. In Memphis and Washington, D.C., no provision of this type had been made, the cities relying upon private agencies for the support of poor persons. The need for more adequate public funds for the care of the unemployed was felt earlier in some of the cities than in others.

At the time these cities were visited unemployment relief, both direct and work relief, was administered on a county basis in Atlanta, Memphis, and Racine. In Terre Haute work relief was administered by a county department and direct relief by the township trustees assisted by the case-work staff of the county department. Emergency relief in the District of Columbia was administered by the Board of Public Welfare. Figures from the county departments, and from the District of Columbia, give a fairly comprehensive picture of the extent of relief in the counties.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN THE COUNTIES OR AREAS IN WHICH THE CITIES
ARE LOCATED, AND RATIO OF FAMILIES ON RELIEF IN NOVEMBER,
1934, TO FAMILIES IN AREA, 1930

CITY AND COUNTY	FAMILIES IN AREA, 1930			FAMILIES ON DIRECT AND WORK RELIEF NOVEM- BER, 1934	RATIO OF FAMILIES ON RELIEF, 1934, TO FAMILIES IN AREA, 1930
	Total*	White	Negro		
Atlanta (Fulton County).....	77,411	51,708	25,690	25,524	33.0
Memphis (Shelby County).....	80,383	43,990	36,365	5,574	6.9
Racine (Racine County).....	22,029	21,866	131	5,869	26.6
Terre Haute (Vigo County).....	26,664	25,484	1,169	4,630	17.4
Washington, D.C.....	125,554	95,286	29,995	21,810	17.4

* Includes a few families of other than the white or the Negro race.

The range in the proportion of families on relief, from 6.9 per cent in Memphis (Shelby County) to 33 per cent in Atlanta (Fulton County), may be affected by variations in the adequacy of the relief program as well as the relative amount of unemployment and the general economic status. These differences are reflected also in the average amount of relief per family, ranging from \$18.51 per month in Memphis to \$26.82 per month in the District of Columbia. The average standard of living in the families receiving aid, which varies with the proportion of unskilled workers, also affects these figures, as is shown by the lower incomes reported by the Negro families visited as compared with incomes of the white families.

Health services.—The health services of the four cities, Atlanta, Memphis, Racine, and Terre Haute, both public and private, had

been hard pressed to meet the rapidly growing demands for care while being handicapped by curtailment in funds. Some of the reductions in public appropriations for health services were met by reductions in salaries, the remainder by curtailment in services. Fortunately, most of the existing health services for children were not seriously affected, although Racine gave up its dental-extraction clinic and lost one of the school nurses, and Terre Haute replaced its full-time paid physician with one employed for only part time. On the other hand, renewed interest in the health of children was shown in Terre Haute when at the instigation of a group of citizens some work was done to further the immunization service of the health

TABLE II*
AVERAGE MONTHLY RELIEF GRANTS PER FAMILY,
NOVEMBER, 1934

City and County	Average Grant
Atlanta (Fulton County).....	\$20.20
Memphis (Shelby (County).....	18.51
Racine (Racine County).....	25.71
Terre Haute (Vigo County).....	26.49
Washington, D.C.....	26.82

* Compiled from monthly reports of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

department; in Memphis, where local groups with the assistance of nurses from the city health department had established seven white and two Negro community health centers; and in Atlanta, where the county relief department for the purpose of demonstrating the need for a home-nursing service had put on a staff of sixty-nine nurses who were serving both the county and the city.

Medical and nursing care for ill persons who were indigent or unable to pay from their slender resources for the additional burden of sickness had been given, in the past, largely by private hospitals and nursing services in the two smaller cities; through the combined services of the city health department, the city hospital, and private organizations in Memphis; and by the city hospital and private organizations in Atlanta. Medical care under the emergency-relief program was provided for sick persons on relief, but marginal families living on greatly reduced incomes were often unable to obtain adequate medical and nursing service.

In three cities school health services were the responsibility of the city health department, but in Terre Haute a part-time physician and two nurses, doing health education and health inspection, were employed by the department of education. School services of the health departments included an immunization program, general health inspection including weighing and measuring, and follow-up visits in the homes in regard to defects or illness. In all the cities lack of funds for correction of defects found on examination of school children was a serious problem. In all the cities some plan had been made for providing school lunches or milk to undernourished school children, through parent-teacher or other organizations.

Maternity and child health services were found in all four cities. Child health centers were conducted by the health department in Atlanta; in Memphis and Racine they had been organized as a joint service of the health department and a private health agency. In Terre Haute this service was given by a private organization. Pre-natal clinics were held by the health department in the larger cities, which also provided confinement care in the city hospital. The Memphis health department also gave nursing care to women confined in their own homes. In Terre Haute some service in maternity cases was given by the physician employed by the township.

Educational and recreational opportunities.—School programs in all the cities have suffered materially because of reduced appropriations resulting in decrease in salaries and curtailment of extension classes and special subjects. The drastic cuts in school funds in Terre Haute during the last few years have resulted in the elimination of kindergartens, fresh-air rooms, and opportunity classes for retarded children, as well as in general curtailment in physical education, music, and the manual arts. In Racine the age for admission to kindergarten was raised from four to five years, with consequent drop in attendance, and all manual and household arts were eliminated from the elementary-school curriculum. Similar reductions in service were found in Memphis. Kindergartens, except when supported by parent-teacher associations, were largely discontinued, and manual-training and domestic-science courses were withdrawn from the elementary schools. The summer schools and some of the night schools were also discontinued.

One of the problems confronting many of the families visited was the difficulty of providing the children with schoolbooks. This was especially true of children in the higher grades, and was a large factor in the discontinuance of their education. It was found that in Atlanta and Memphis books were provided for children in Grades I-VIII. In Racine books were sold to pupils at cost, but it was hoped that it would soon be possible to give books to children unable to buy them. The attendance department of Terre Haute had been furnishing books to children in needy families, but funds for this purpose were limited.

There has been little increase in educational opportunities for older boys and girls in the four cities. All the cities except Terre Haute have special vocational schools. Part-time attendance at such schools is required in Memphis and Racine for all employed boys and girls under a specified age. With assistance from federal funds classes in adult education open to boys and girls have been established during the last year, but the success of these classes has varied with the capacity and vigor of the agencies undertaking to carry out the program.

Recreation departments with a broad program for leisure-time activities of children and young persons were found in Racine and Memphis. These programs had been carried out in school centers and in organized community centers and had included athletics, play groups for children, dancing, and other social activities. Funds for recreation have been severely cut in both cities during the last few years, with consequent reduction in personnel and in some types of services. No organized recreation program had been undertaken in Atlanta until the summer of 1934, when a demonstration of recreation services under trained leadership was undertaken by the County Emergency Relief Bureau. The program was carried out in city parks and school playgrounds and reached a large number of both white and Negro children and young people. With some modification in plans this service was being continued. Although authorized by law to levy a tax for recreational purposes, Terre Haute has no comprehensive public recreation program for its citizens.

FAMILIES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

In each city the family visits were confined to certain areas, selected after consultation with representatives of the social agencies and relief organizations, so as to yield information concerning families which in normal times were self-supporting on a low wage scale and at the time of the study were living on reduced incomes or were on relief. The white areas selected in the southern cities were those representing diversified clerical and factory employment. In the Negro sections the occupations of the chief wage-earners were chiefly unskilled labor and domestic service, and standards of living were much lower. The area chosen in Racine was a factory neighborhood. In Terre Haute three small areas were visited, of which two were composed largely of families of miners or former miners, and one was a neighborhood chiefly of factory operatives. In Washington, where some Negro families were visited, a somewhat better neighborhood was selected, which included families in which the fathers were truck- and taxi-drivers.

House-to-house visits were made in each area, and every family in which there were children under twenty-one and from which it was possible to obtain information was interviewed. Information was sought in regard to employment of the various members of the family; loss of jobs or reduction in income; debts and other financial losses; and deprivations suffered in the matter of food, clothes, and medical attention. Information concerning health and educational, vocational, and recreational problems of the children and young people was also obtained.

A total of 259 families—197 white and 62 Negro—was visited in the five cities. In these families were 603 children under sixteen years of age, and 140 from sixteen to twenty years, inclusive (Table III).

THE EFFECT OF THE DEPRESSION ON THE FINANCIAL
RESOURCES OF THE FAMILIES

Income, savings, debts.—Comparing income for the six months prior to the interview with income in the six months prior to loss of job by the chief breadwinner or reduction in his wages, it was found that 204 of the 235 families (87 per cent) for which information was

available had suffered reductions in income. Half of the group (49 per cent) were living on half, or less than half the amount they formerly had, and 73 per cent were living on three-fourths, or less than three-fourths, of their former incomes. In only 9 families had the chief wage-earner held one job continuously since before 1930 without reduction in wages or hours at some time within the period.

TABLE III
NUMBER OF FAMILIES AND CHILDREN VISITED IN EACH
CITY BY AGE OF CHILDREN AND BY RACE

Families and Children	Total	White	Negro
Families.....	259	197	62
Atlanta.....	60	44	16
Memphis.....	62	47	15
Racine.....	45	45	.....
Terre Haute.....	61	61	.....
Washington.....	31	.....	31
Children under 16...	603	450	153
Atlanta.....	125	101	24
Memphis.....	125	90	35
Racine.....	113	113	.....
Terre Haute.....	146	146	.....
Washington.....	94	.....	94
Children 16-20.....	140	114	26
Atlanta.....	42	30	12
Memphis.....	26	22	4
Racine.....	34	34	.....
Terre Haute.....	28	28	.....
Washington.....	10	.....	10

In 22 families the chief wage-earner had either regained his old job or secured another paying as much, or, after a period of lower income, younger members of the family had become workers and their wages were augmenting the father's income, or for some other reason present income was not lower than pre-depression income.

The total money value of income during the six months immediately preceding the study was less than \$800 for 94 per cent of the 251 families reporting on this item; it was less than \$400 for 59 per cent of these families, and less than \$200 for 26 per cent. The vast

majority of Negro families when considered alone (91 per cent) had a six-month income of less than \$400, and 53 per cent had less than \$200. These income figures include any direct or work relief that the family received during the period.

The income of Negro families was higher on the whole in Washington than in either Atlanta or Memphis. Among the white families the total income was higher, on the average, in the two southern cities than in Terre Haute and Racine.

The average income during the six months in families of specified size is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV
INCOME DURING SIX MONTHS PRIOR TO SURVEY BY
RACE AND BY NUMBER OF PERSONS SUPPORTED

PERSONS SUPPORTED	AVERAGE INCOME IN FAMILIES			
	White Families		Negro Families	
	No.	Aver. Income	No.	Aver. Income
Two or three.....	38	\$348.50	16	\$149.00
Four or five.....	87	459.00	24	217.50
Six or seven.....	44	467.50	9	233.50
Eight and over.....	23	529.50	9	398.00

Back of these income figures for six-month periods are such factors as the death or absence of the former chief breadwinner, in 23 of the 259 families, and total unemployment, except for relief work, of the chief breadwinner in 69 families (29 per cent of the 236 families in which the former chief breadwinner was still present in the home). Thirty-two of the 69 unemployed chief breadwinners were on work relief, 8 having been so employed for more than one year. Of the 167 employed on other than work relief, 72, 43 per cent, had been engaged in the same occupation for four years or more, and 46 others, 28 per cent, for one year up to four years. Of the 236 chief breadwinners still in the home at the time of the study, 21 were women, 6 being unemployed.

Weekly earnings were reported for 194 chief breadwinners, in-

cluding those on work relief. Of these, 54 per cent reported earnings of less than \$15 and 32 per cent of less than \$10. The percentages are:

WEEKLY EARNINGS	CHIEF BREADWINNER	
	No.	Per Cent Distribution
Under \$10.....	62	32
\$10, under \$15.....	42	22
\$15, under \$20.....	38	20
\$20, under \$30.....	42	22
\$30 and over.....	10	5

Only 10 of the 252 families giving information on cash resources had any at the time of the study (4 per cent). Three-fifths of the families (148) had never had a bank account; 37 per cent had formerly had some savings, but had exhausted them during the depression years. Insurance policies had been dropped or reduced. Over three-fourths of the families (76 per cent) were in debt, chiefly for food, shelter, and medical care, one-fourth of the 149 families reporting the amount of their debt as \$200 or more. In Racine almost half the families owed doctor or hospital bills.

The extent of losses of real estate, insurance, or personal property was a subject on which many persons hesitated to speak, even as they did about debts. Twenty-three families, however, reported that they had lost their homes; 34 said they had lost furniture, largely bought on the instalment plan, or else forfeited as security against loans; 114, or 44 per cent of all families, had dropped or cashed in insurance policies, some stating they had lost considerable sums thereby.

The following instances are typical of what many fathers and mothers related in regard to their financial losses in recent years:

The C—— family in Atlanta had always lived comfortably. The father was a foreman in a roller shop for 20 years, and for 9 years prior to losing his job in 1929 had made \$55 a week. Unemployment came as a terrible shock. While they did not own their home they had savings amounting to \$700. This was used up after a few months, and then Mr. C—— had to resort to anything he could find to do to earn a little money. He tried selling various articles, even papers on the streets, and finally started a delivery route for a dry-cleaning establishment on commission. At first he made very little, but after about two years he began to average \$15 a week, his present earnings. By cutting down

drastically on food and clothes at the beginning of their difficulties and by moving from a house which rented at \$25 to one which was only \$9, they were barely able to get along for the first two or three years of the change. Their new car, bought in 1929, reverted to the company because of an unpaid balance of \$100. They sold valuable furniture, piano, radio and living room suite, and purchased nothing more except on cash basis. All of this was done very quietly, the mother said, and relatives and friends had no knowledge of the real circumstances. There was a time, after savings were gone, when the family actually suffered for food and fuel, but they never thought of applying for relief because they were determined to come through somehow. By great sacrifice and extremely careful management they have been able to pay up the rent and doctor's bills which accumulated during the leanest period and now have a clean slate. They have managed to keep their one boy, now 16, sufficiently well clothed so that he could continue in school.

A family of seven in Racine had suffered considerably from loss of home and subsequent accumulation of debt. The father had made good pay as a railroad employee, \$50 to \$60 a week, until he lost his job in 1928. After that he obtained a job as laborer in a factory for which he received about \$34 a week at first, but only \$22.50 at the time of visit. In good times they had built their own house, valued at \$11,000, but on which there was a mortgage of \$6,000. When they were unable to keep up payments and taxes in 1931, they lost their title to the property and paid rent for about a year. Working hours became very short, earnings dwindled almost to the vanishing point the latter part of 1932, and the County Relief Department had to be called upon to give assistance, which they did for a little over a year, to the extent of \$333. The family moved to a five-room flat in the meantime, which was far too small for them besides being damp and unsanitary. Eight months later they made another move without greatly improving their situation and the following year they joined the parents of the mother who had a large nine-room house with three bedrooms to spare for the younger family's use.

Not only had the family lost their home, but much of their furniture also. While the present home reflected high standards of living and some culture, it was not their own and they felt the loss keenly. The mother was particularly distressed because she had had to relinquish her plans for the higher education of the older children, who were talented and anxious to go to college. The 19-year-old boy was at C.C.C. camp at the time of the survey and money that he sent home was being saved by his mother for that purpose. The family was proud and they hoped to make their way out of the remainder of the depression without asking for further assistance.

Relief.—Information given by the families themselves and later checked with records of social and relief agencies showed that of the

259 families interviewed 41 per cent had never had relief at any time; 47 per cent had had relief during the period of the depression only; 10 per cent were those which might be called "chronic" relief cases, having been on the relief rolls either continuously or intermittently for some time before 1930 as well as in the last four years. Eighty-nine families (34 per cent) were on the current relief rolls of the different cities.

Larger proportions of the Negro than of the white families were on relief. Of 62 Negro families visited in three cities—Memphis, Atlanta, and Washington—only 27 per cent had never been on relief, as compared with 46 per cent of the white families in all cities. Memphis showed the largest percentage of all families never on relief (56 per cent), but these were chiefly the white, and not the Negro, families.

Thirty-eight of the families visited had only children of preschool age. For the most part these were young families, the parents having married either during the depression or shortly before it, and the father hardly having had an opportunity to become established industrially and financially. One-third of these families were receiving help at the time of interview, and nearly two-thirds had been on the relief rolls at some time since 1930.

Many families stated that the relief orders were insufficient and that the groceries did not last through the week or the two weeks for which they were given.

In Terre Haute almost every family visited which had had relief at any time during the depression complained of the smallness of the food orders, under the system which prevailed in Terre Haute, of local responsibility for direct relief (see p. 215), federal funds being used for work relief only. One man said he was turned away, when he asked for more, because, they said, he should have made the five-dollar order that he received the previous week last through the month. Even the families on work relief were having a hard struggle to make the limited wages pay for rent, fuel, food, and light. They did not even think of clothes, one mother said. The fathers invariably said that they would rather be on work relief than receive direct assistance, because it yielded them more and the cash payments gave them more choice in their purchases, but all wanted more work. Parents were anxious about the scarcity of emergency-relief jobs, and the

shortness of the working hours, if one succeeded in obtaining a job at all. In one family of four the father was given only eighteen hours of work a week, which brought only \$7.20 in pay. In another family of six the father had gone back to his old job at the mine, but for only one day a week—at \$4.00. He asked for some assistance from the local relief office but it was refused on the ground that he was employed. "Anyway," he said, "the \$4.00 I get from mining is better than the \$2.90 a week which we were allowed on direct relief."

Among families interviewed in the other cities, also, reports of inadequacy of relief were common. In Racine 19 of the 29 relief families complained about clothes, and their inability to get shoes for the children until they were practically barefoot. In this city special attention had been given to the clothing needs of relief clients, but in Terre Haute, where direct relief was locally administered and little was done along these lines, few families mentioned clothes in connection with relief, probably because they did not expect to receive any.

EFFECTS OF THE DEPRESSION ON FAMILY LIFE AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

The most obvious, though not always the most serious, consequences of the depression relate to such items as housing, fuel, food, and clothing.

At least two-thirds of the families visited, and three-fourths of those on relief since 1930, had moved one or more times, chiefly to obtain lower rent or because they were unable to pay rent, and 10 per cent of the families reported evictions. Seventeen per cent of the families had shared housing accommodations with relatives or friends during at least part of the depression period.

Three-fifths of the families lived in homes characterized as good (34 families) or fair (123 families), judged by the condition of the property, degree of crowding, conveniences, and type of neighborhood. Thirty-nine per cent were poorly housed, including 17 per cent, most of them having been on relief at some time during the depression, whose housing was characterized as very poor. Conditions in Racine appeared to be superior to those in the other cities included in the study.

Overcrowding (two or more persons per room) was found in 16

per cent of the families, 9 per cent living in badly congested quarters, that is, with more than two persons to a room. Sleeping conditions were very unsatisfactory in some of these more congested homes. One-fourth of the 603 children under sixteen years of age included in the study slept in the same bed with two or more others, 19 sharing the bed with three or more persons. Ten per cent of 134 young people between sixteen and twenty-one years of age slept with two or more persons. Five children, one of these over sixteen, were found sleeping on the floor without mattresses.

Fuel was a serious problem in many homes. Sixty-six families, including 52 having received relief, said they had not been able to keep warm the previous winter. A number of families reported that they kept warm only by moving their beds into the dining-room or sitting-room, and closing off part of the house.

Nearly every family that had suffered reduction in income mentioned the cutting-down of diets as one of the greatest hardships they had had to endure. The quantity and quality of meat had been lessened, eggs had been cut out, and margarine had been substituted for butter; but the more serious deprivations seemed to be in the matter of fruits, vegetables, and milk.

Inquiry as to the amount and kind of fruits and vegetables used during the week prior to the study showed that in 61 per cent of the families there was a lack of sufficient vegetables containing essential diet elements. In 20 per cent of the families the diet was almost totally deficient in respect to green vegetables and fruit, the chief articles of diet in these families being bread, beans, and potatoes, with possibly cabbage once or twice a week, but no other green vegetable and no fruit. A still higher percentage of inadequate diets was found among the 89 families that were on relief at the time of the study, 79 per cent of this group lacking some of the essentials in fruit and vegetables as compared with 52 per cent of those not on relief. In 26 per cent of the relief families and 17 per cent of the non-relief families, the diet was almost entirely lacking in these respects.

Fifteen per cent of the families on relief at time of interview and 6 per cent of those not on relief bought no milk, fresh or canned, during the previous week. Canned milk only was used by 25 per cent of the relief families, and by 13 per cent of the non-relief families.

Considered separately by cities, the picture is somewhat different. Every one of the 18 relief families visited in Racine had some fresh milk, whereas only 12 of the 23 relief families visited in Atlanta had any fresh milk, 7 not even having canned milk, and only 5 of the 16 relief families in Terre Haute had fresh milk, although all of the others bought some canned milk. Eleven of 18 relief families in Memphis had some fresh milk, 3 families had only canned milk, and 4 had no milk at all.

The amount of milk per family, including fresh milk, canned milk, and buttermilk, was relatively small. In terms of quarts per day, canned milk being converted into its equivalent in fresh milk, about

TABLE V
AVERAGE NUMBER OF QUARTS OF MILK USED WEEKLY IN FAMILIES
VISITED, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER SIXTEEN
IN THE FAMILIES

Cities	One Child	Two or Three Children	Four or More Children
Atlanta.....	6.0	9.1	11.6
Memphis.....	6.7	6.8	9.0
Racine.....	9.9	14.4	28.0
Terre Haute.....	5.8	6.4	9.1
Washington.....	4.0	3.9	8.7

half of the families visited (49 per cent) had less than one quart a day, 9 per cent having none; 27 per cent had between one and two quarts; 24 per cent had two quarts or more. The average number of quarts per week used by families in all cities was 8.7, and varied from 5.3 in Washington to 15.8 in Racine.

These figures on amount of milk used in one week are more significant when correlated with the number of children under sixteen years of age in the families studied. Racine was the only city in which there was even an approach to minimum standards of the amount of milk per person. Even here the average amount per child was probably not adequate considering the fact that there were adults and, in many of the families, older children who consumed part of the milk supply.

The amount of milk taken daily by each child under sixteen was

one of the points of special inquiry. It was found that 43 per cent of the 504 children in the four cities of Atlanta, Memphis, Racine, and Terre Haute for whom reports were obtained had no milk at all either at home or at school. Of 165 children under six years of age in these cities, 31 per cent had no milk, and another 16 per cent had only one glass or less a day. If Racine were omitted, the percentage having no milk would be even greater. In Racine only 2 of the 35 children under six years of age had no milk, and 16 children had one quart or more daily. Only 8 other children in the whole group of 165 under six years of age—4 in Atlanta and 4 in Terre Haute—had as much as one quart of milk a day. The median amount of milk consumed by children under six in Racine was one pint and a half daily, and in the other three cities it was only one-half pint.

During the long period of the depression the clothing problem had become increasingly serious in the families studied. Inquiry as to the amount of clothing possessed and needed by the various members of each family made possible a rough classification into those who had a good or fair amount of clothes, those who had an inadequate supply, and still a third class, a division of the latter, where the family was actually destitute of the barest essentials, where they had only ragged underwear, or no change, only one dress or suit and that hardly passable, badly worn shoes or no shoes at all for the children, and perhaps no suitable outside wraps. Sixty-three per cent of all the families visited were found to have an inadequate supply of clothing, 15 per cent falling into the destitute class.

This lack of proper clothing was considerably more marked among the families who had been on relief at some time during the depression than among those who had never had relief, 79 per cent of the former as compared with 40 per cent of the latter being inadequately clothed.

One of the most serious effects of this inadequacy of clothing was in connection with the schooling of the older boys and girls. They did not enjoy school when they could not dress like the other children, some saying that that was the reason they gave up school entirely. Some of the parents also remarked that they had given up going out, even to church, because they had no clothes.

HEALTH NEEDS

Information relative to health and health needs of the families was limited to a few definite facts as to illness of any member of the family over a specified period, the kind of medical attention received, and whether or not continued treatment was necessary and was being given.

Two-thirds of all the families visited reported illness of one or more members during the six months prior to the survey. Since this period included spring, summer, and early fall months, it is probable that the proportion of illness is a minimum, because a number of mothers who said there had been none in the last six months spoke of illness during the previous winter. Fifty families reported illness of father, 80 illness of mother, and 114 illness of one or more children. Private care only had been given in 74 families, public care only (city or county physician, free clinic or hospital service) in 55 families, and both private and public facilities had been used in 25 families. Altogether nearly half (47 per cent) of the families having illness had sought public medical assistance one or more times. In 17 families there had been no treatment other than home remedies.

The most disturbing feature about the whole question of health was the fact that in 43 per cent of the families medical treatment appeared to be needed at the time of the survey, but was not being received, and in 30 per cent of the cases it was because the family could not afford private care. Nearly as large a proportion of families among those who had never been on relief as among those who had received relief reported this condition. It was not possible to ascertain in all cases whether some form of public medical assistance could have been obtained, but it was known that in Racine and Terre Haute families not on the relief rolls were not eligible for public medical aid. In Atlanta 15 families spoke of the inadequacy of free medical facilities, the hospital clinics being so crowded that good service was not possible. In fact, it was reported that only emergency cases were being admitted, and those not acutely ill were told that they would have to pay for services. Such comments as these were made by the families visited:

There are so many patients at the clinic it is hard to get waited on.

Discouraged with the clinic. The doctors seem so rushed they can't give the individual attention patients should have.

It's all right for acute ailments, but not for treatments.

Instances of need for medical care, both in relief families and in families not on the relief rolls, included the following:

A mother in Racine who injured her arm in the course of employment as a hotel chambermaid. She complained of delayed and inadequate medical care, as a result of which she was losing the use of her arm. Members of the family were despondent and resentful.

In another family in Racine the father had suffered greatly from gastric ulcers and had difficulty in obtaining the health services and special diet needed. The county granted him a special diet for a time when he was unemployed, but now that he had work on an emergency relief job he was expected to pay for special items of food, some of which were expensive, out of his small earnings of \$14.71 a week. Debts amounting to more than \$150 had been contracted for doctors and medicine. The needs of this family were many, in the way of both household equipment and clothing for the children. The mother had even ripped up sheets to make them into night clothes. They realized that the children needed milk and were obtaining at least two quarts a day at the sacrifice of other needed foods.

The great need of more adequate relief and health care in Terre Haute is illustrated by the following cases observed in the course of one week by a representative of the Children's Bureau:

Sixteen-year-old Jane has a bad case of osteomyelitis. She has been ill for six years and has spent several weeks at various times in the hospital, but has not been there in the last two years. When the sores on her legs break open afresh the family doctor is called, then the parents assume the responsibility for dressing the lesions as long as they persist. The girl is thin and pale and greatly in need of prolonged hospital treatment. Six years ago a sister died with a similar ailment and the parents are at present distracted, not knowing which way to turn next for advice and help. Debts in the family have piled up high in the last 10 years, largely from prolonged illness in the family, and the attendant expenses. The father was a cook in the Navy during the World War. He contracted tuberculosis at that time and although the disease is at present arrested, he is not strong and can do only light work. He has no regular job, but peddles fruit and vegetables, his earnings averaging not over \$6 a week. As a disabled war veteran he receives a pension of \$50 a month. Out of this he must pay \$14 a month rent, buy fuel, food, and clothes for his family of six (self, wife, and four girls aged 10 to 16), pay for medical attention for the oldest

girl, and keep up the running expenses of a truck which he uses in his business. This family has never asked help of any agency, public or private. They are proud, self-reliant people, and are trying in every way to make ends meet.

In one family the father, a miner in a middle western coal field, had managed to make a fairly comfortable living until irregular work for several years and the closing of the mine in 1927 caused him to seek other employment. For several summers when work at the mine was slack he had done farming. When the mine closed he went at it in earnest, and for two and a half years worked as farm laborer and received in return \$10 a week in cash and his house, garden stuff, cow and chickens. The family, which consisted of only father, mother and one son, managed for a year or two to get along on this income and the \$12 a month which the father received as veteran of the World War. The prospect of a better job in town lured the family away from the farm in 1929 but the particular job did not materialize, and the father took what he could get, truck driver for a coal company, which netted him much less than his farm labor job. Illness came in the years that followed, the mother having to undergo three separate operations for goiter. The father's pension was revoked, the small savings from the farm were used up, two insurance policies had to be cashed in, and a loan secured on furniture. Had it not been for the soldier's "bonus," out of which he paid \$109 to the doctor, \$106 to the hospital, and \$35 to the grocer, still more drastic steps would have been necessary.

Times grew no better, wages were again reduced, but the father was not actually laid off. The only relief requested by the family was one grocery order, in 1934. The diet was cut down to chiefly bread, beans and potatoes. No milk was used, except a little evaporated for coffee, and no eggs. Fruit was a luxury, which was afforded very seldom. These deprivations were a particular hardship to the whole family, for father, mother and boy were all in need of special dietary attention. The son was undernourished, the father had asthma badly, and the mother was weak from repeated operations. Clothing and household furnishings were greatly depleted. Overalls and shirts were worn beyond further patching; the total bed linen consisted of only two sheets, and one change of pillow cases.

For six years prior to the depression Mr. B—— had been a laborer in a hominy mill of a middle western city making a small but steady income (\$21 a week). The family, which included father, mother, and five children, had managed fairly comfortably and even had an occasional luxury. When the hominy mill burned five years ago Mr. B—— was out of a job. As a laborer, he had been unable to pick up anything during the depression years except odd jobs, such as seasonal ones at the packing plant, and hauling coal in winter. In the spring of 1933 he was obliged to call on the town for help. At that time they were providing a little work relief, and so gave him a \$4 grocery order in return for 16 hours of work a week. This was irregular, however, and between April and November

he received only a total of \$49 worth of groceries, which was barely enough to keep them from starving. For four months in the winter the father had a C.W.A. job which netted him about \$300. When that ceased in March, 1934, the family was forced to take up lodging in a shack-like house on the outskirts of town. There a new baby came. The mother had been ill for months prior to its birth and without medical attention except at confinement.

Somehow the family managed to survive the summer, although all were ill with either malaria or intestinal trouble caused by mosquitoes which bred about an old cistern and from the well water, which the mother said "tasted bad."

During the summer the father had a part-time job at painting which netted him about \$30 a month. When this ceased in August he again had to ask for town help, and received during the course of one month \$8 in grocery orders and a few surplus commodities. With approaching winter it was necessary to find warmer shelter, so the family came to town in September and took the cheapest tenement they could find, paying \$5 a month. Soon after this the father obtained a work-relief job as night watchman, supposedly at \$12.20 a week for 30 hours' work, but he usually made only \$9.60 or \$7.20 because he was out sick with malaria one or two days each week.

The mother's struggle to feed her six growing children, clothe them, and keep them in school on the scanty week's allowance had practically worn her out. She, herself, looked extremely pale and undernourished, although nursing her five-months-old infant daughter.

First of all living and sleeping conditions were well-nigh intolerable. A family of eight in two rooms without any sanitary conveniences—not even a sink or running water—was difficult enough without the further consideration that there were only two beds. It meant that the two boys must sleep on the floor without even a mattress under them, only a pair of worn blankets. The three girls used an old daybed in the kitchen and the baby slept with the parents.

No fresh milk could be purchased. Five cans of evaporated milk per week must do the family, including the mother who was nursing her baby. The four children in school each had one glass of milk a day for lunch. Oatmeal with a little canned milk in the morning, potatoes and beans, and occasionally cabbage, constituted their dinner at night. "Once a week," the mother said, "I want the children to have a treat, so I buy what fruit I can on Saturday night and have a salad Sunday."

The family was cold last winter. Their parlor stove broke down. This year all they have for heat is the kitchen stove, and the house, even in early November, was decidedly cold, an unfit place for a five-months-old infant.

Clothes were needed by every member of the family, especially by the school children. The oldest boy of 16 had stopped school because he had no suitable clothes and could not buy books for school. The boy had tried vainly to get some kind of a job, but had managed only to pick up a few cents peddling soap and pins.

RECREATIONAL AND SOCIAL NEEDS

The only public facilities for recreation used to any extent by the children from six to fifteen years of age in the families visited were the city parks and playgrounds. Only 30 per cent of the 342 children of these ages in the cities included in the study, other than Washington, where the information was not obtained, made any use of public playgrounds. The percentage varied by cities, however. In Racine slightly more than half (51 per cent) of the children patronized the nearby playground, which was supervised in summer, and an additional 29 per cent used the school yard for play purposes. In Terre Haute none of the 99 children included in the study had any supervised playground facilities available to them, but 37 per cent said they went to the school yards where there was some equipment. The conditions in the two southern cities showed a similar contrast, although not quite so marked. In Memphis 40 per cent of the children in the families visited made general use of the public playgrounds, which were supervised by the City Recreation Department, as compared with only 19 per cent in Atlanta where supervised playgrounds were a new venture of the Emergency Relief Bureau and the people were not yet accustomed to them. The colored children in the area studied in Atlanta were too far away from even the nearest playground, so few of this group ever went there.

Public parks apparently to some extent took the place of playgrounds in Terre Haute, for 31 per cent said they went there for recreation. Free movies in a Terre Haute park during the summer season doubtless were an attraction to the children in these poorer families since the parents could seldom give them money for the commercial shows. In Racine 35 per cent of the children played in the parks, but very few children among the families visited in Memphis and Atlanta made common use of them.

Only 26 children (8 per cent) were club members. Sixteen of these were in Terre Haute where there was a boys' club that served particularly boys of the poorer families, and a small girls' club in one of the areas studied which quite young girls seemed to enjoy. Only 10 children among those visited in the other three cities combined belonged to or ever attended any clubs.

School social activities played little part in the lives of most of

these boys and girls, although a few (17) mentioned participating in baseball, basket-ball, or volley-ball games on school teams, and 6 children said they sometimes attended school parties. School grounds were used by some of the boys and girls as a place to play ball and other unsupervised games.

The church, too, seemed to contribute but little social life to these younger boys and girls. Many said they went to Sunday-school and church, but only 25 belonged to young people's societies or attended social affairs.

In only one city, Racine, did a social settlement serve the children included in the study. Here 16 said they went to the classes and activities of the Central Association which were being resumed on a small scale after an interruption of four years because of lack of funds.

Where public library facilities were good the older boys and girls were eager to make use of them, as they did in Racine. In the other cities the parents spoke of the children's fondness for reading and regretted their inability to get library books, because the main library was too far away, and there were no branches near by.

One of the most common recreational desires expressed was for a chance to swim. None of the children visited in Terre Haute could afford the fee at the Y.M.C.A. pool, and their parents would not allow them to swim in the river because it was too dangerous. Only 3 of the children visited in Racine satisfied this desire for swimming. In Atlanta 12 children said they went to the swimming pool at the fair grounds. In Memphis 9 of the younger boys and girls used the wading pool at one of the public playgrounds.

The type of recreational facilities most desired by the parents for their children, aside from branch libraries and free sanitary swimming pools, were (1) opportunities for the study of music, especially piano, by children who showed special talent, and for whom private lessons and sometimes also the possession of the instrument were impossible; (2) some organized program of recreation that would keep the children interested and busy outside of school hours, especially the boys and girls in their early teens; (3) handcraft and art work the year round such as is given at the summer playgrounds. The answer to these desires lies in a broader general program of

recreation; social centers with their clubs and classes, including music and art; more supervised playgrounds; expansion of library service; and enlarged facilities for swimming for children as well as adults.

The lack of wholesome recreation was no doubt partly responsible for the delinquencies of certain children observed in the course of the study. These children needed greatly the protective care of a social service agency.

John, aged 13, lives with his mother, stepfather, and younger brothers and sisters in Memphis, Tennessee. He is in the sixth grade. John is almost a chronic hobo, even at his young age, having run away from home several times. On the first occasion, when 11 years old, he went with two other boys, but came back the same day. Six months later [January, 1933] he ran away and was gone two months. On March 3, when in Alabama, his leg was cut off at the knee by a train. [He now has a wooden leg.] In the fall he ran away again, this time to Los Angeles. The authorities put him on a bus to send him home, but he disappeared at St. Louis. From there he hoboed to Pittsburgh. He finally returned home in April, 1934, and the juvenile court judge sent him to the County Industrial School farm. He was there for five months, and was reported by the mother to have liked it very much. He did no work there because of his wooden leg. The boy is now back home, and attending school.

John has hardly known a normal home. There was always poverty and dirt. He has never been especially interested in school, but had no particular trouble with teachers before first running away, except that he played hookey a few times. The boy was occasionally stubborn at home, but there had been no serious family quarrels, and no special disciplinary measures had been used. The mother said he had always been an active, imaginative and restless child.

Outside the home there were no wholesome recreational outlets—only the 10-cent movie shows. He had been patronizing shows twice a week, his mother said, before he started running away. He belonged to no clubs or playground groups, and had never participated in any organized recreation. His playtime had been spent wholly on the streets.

Henry, aged 14 years, is a beginning delinquent. He has already been in the juvenile court twice for stealing money from his mother, and recently brought to the probation department because of truancy. He will not go to school because he has no books, the social department having refused to furnish them, because of the mother's poor character. This boy has not had a normal home life for six years. His father committed suicide when Henry was 8 years old, and with two other children the boy was placed in an orphan asylum, where he remained six months, until the mother remarried. Four years later the second husband died and the mother soon afterward took his brother into her home,

where the atmosphere was wholly unsuited to the rearing of the children. When the situation was discovered, the children were put under the supervision of their married sister, who lived next door.

The family lives in a colored neighborhood, but the boy attends school in a good white neighborhood some distance away. He is badly in need of clothing and feels keenly the fact that he looks different from other boys in his school. There are no boys with whom he can associate in his own neighborhood, because all are colored; moreover he is not allowed to use the playground equipment in a nearby school yard, because he is over 14 years of age. He likes to play football, but has no ball or other play equipment. He sits around and watches the colored children on their playground, but cannot join them although, during the past summer, they have had supervised play.

In order to go to an occasional movie, Henry picks up coal on the railroad tracks and sells it. In the past year and a half he has been arrested three times for stealing miscellaneous articles which he intended to sell. The only disposition made of his case was to put him in the detention home for a few days and release him on his promise to be a good boy.

The home had never been visited by a probation officer until 1934, although the first delinquency occurred early in 1933. No social treatment has been given and no plan made for this boy.

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Among the most serious problems revealed by the study were those of the boys and girls of working age, many of whom were unemployed and out of school, or, if attending school, were without needed clothing and schoolbooks. In the 259 families were 140 young people of the ages sixteen to twenty years, inclusive, and somewhat detailed information concerning their activities was obtained for all but 6 boys and girls of this age group.

Schooling and employment.—Eighty of the 134 children (60 per cent) had left school. The age distribution is shown in Table VI.

In Terre Haute only 6 of the 28 boys and girls of this age group were still in school, whereas in Racine 21 of the 34 children were still attending—the largest proportion found in any of the cities.

With regard to 25 of the 80 children, it was stated that they left school because they could not afford needed clothes, books, and incidentals. For 16 children, family need was given as the reason. Only 14 had graduated from high school. Thirteen had left with the completion of the period when school attendance was legally required, 6 reporting that they did not like school. Other reasons were

given by 10 children, and for 2 children the reason for leaving was not reported.

The boys and girls frequently remarked that they did not like to go to school when the majority of their companions were so much better dressed than they. A few, who really wanted the academic high-school courses, sacrificed them for the course at vocational schools where, they said, it was not necessary to be so well dressed. In some cities books were quite an expense for children over sixteen years of age, and the number of loan copies was not adequate to supply all those really in need of that help.

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE AGES SIXTEEN TO
TWENTY YEARS, INCLUSIVE, IN RELATION
TO SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

AGE OF CHILD IN YEARS	TOTAL	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	
		In School	Out of School
Total.....	134	54	80
16.....	43	34	9
17.....	23	6	17
18.....	33	9	24
19.....	16	3	13
20.....	19	2	17

Of the 80 children who were not attending school, only 3 had enrolled in outside educational classes. Two were attending evening school, and 1 had taken a course at a public cooking school. Among the 54 young people who were still attending full-time school, 6 were high school graduates; 3 of these were enrolled in business colleges, and 3 others were pursuing mechanical and commercial subjects voluntarily at a vocational school.

Only 28 of the 80 boys and girls who had left school were employed at the time of the study. Of the 38 boys who were out of school, only 19 had jobs, although every one wanted full-time occupation of some kind. A number said they did odd jobs, such as errands, peddling of small wares, even of junk, and occasionally

caddying at golf links. Earnings, however, were negligible in such cases and merely afforded a few cents' spending money. The girls were even worse off, only 9 of the 42 who had left school having remunerative work of any kind, although many of them spent a great deal of time "hunting a job." Several boys and girls complained that they were continually being refused employment because of lack of experience. Very few seemed to have had any special guidance in their search for jobs, but went about here and there to factories and shops in vain search for work.

It is especially difficult for young people, who are not usually the heads of families, to obtain employment. Those under the age of eighteen years are not eligible for enrolment in the C.C.C. camps, and young people living at home are not usually accepted for emergency work if their fathers are earning anything at all, either in private employment or in work relief.

Such difficulties are illustrated by the following accounts of families visited:

The only wage earner in a family of eight was the father, who had an irregular part time job as bartender and helper at an average wage of \$9 a week. The son of 24 years had had no work whatever in six months, and for several years had had only odd jobs a few days at a time. He had applied many times at the county relief office for emergency work jobs, under both the Emergency Relief and the C.W.A. projects, but the family said he had always been dismissed as ineligible since his father was earning something. He was married and with his wife lived in his father's home. A son of 17 had left school the previous June after one year in high school because he had no suitable clothes and could not pay for the books, for which a charge was made to those over 16 years of age. He, too, tried in vain to find a job, and his courage was about gone because even his friends who had graduated from technical school had been unable to find work. His one hope was that when he became 18 he might be eligible for a C.C.C. camp. The younger boys, 13, 12, and 10 years of age, particularly needed milk and fresh fruits and vegetables, which were absolutely impossible to obtain with the present family income. One boy had been recently sent home from school ill, and the teacher said she thought the only trouble was that he was hungry.

Another family numbered thirteen members. They lived in one half of a poorly constructed house, and occupied 6 of the 7 rooms, one upstairs room being rented out to a woman who lived independently of the family. Besides father and mother there were five boys 10, 12, 16, 17 and 19 years of age, two

girls 21 and 23, the husband and two small children of the girl 21, and the five-year-old daughter of the girl 23, who was separated from her husband. The combined earnings of five members of this family were less than \$25 a week, and only about \$500 for the previous six months. The father had never had a job of more than a few months' duration since he lost his job in a mine in 1923. Then he made about \$35 a week; at the time of the visit he was doing trucking on his own account, and called it a good week if he made more than \$5. The mother did laundry work at home six days in the week, although scarcely able to stand because of varicose veins which had burst and caused ulcers. The girl of 21 did general housework away from home, and averaged three dollars a week, while her husband got very little more as a substitute bartender. The only boy who was working was the boy of 19; who was an extra helper at a storage and transfer place. The other two boys, 17 and 16, had left school because the parents could not pay for clothes and books, and had searched in vain for work. They were early in line for C.W.A. work on the first day it was assigned, and the 19-year-old boy, who was then unemployed, filed application for a C.C.C. camp, but was not accepted.

Serious problems of health were confronting this family. The mother needed treatment badly, or at least a chance to keep off her feet, but she felt obliged to work. The 23-year-old daughter had just come from the hospital where she had been ill with typhoid pneumonia. Continued treatment for some time involving considerable expenditure for medicine would be necessary for her and also for the 12-year-old boy who had had typhoid fever two months earlier and had not recovered from the after effects. The year-old baby of the other married daughter had just been brought back from the hospital where he had been ill three weeks with pneumonia.

Good, nourishing food with plenty of milk for the convalescents was what this family most needed, next to medical aid, but their diet consisted chiefly of bread, potatoes, beans and cabbage, with oatmeal which was "filling" for breakfast, and very little milk—only six quarts a week of fresh milk, and the equivalent of three quarts in canned milk which was used for coffee and some cooking. Fresh fruit and vegetables were used to some extent in the summer when one of the boys helped at a market and was paid in produce, but now his job had ceased the family could not afford to buy these "less filling and more expensive foods" and so were doing without them.

This family had never asked for relief, other than emergency work which was refused the boys on the ground that the father was working. Adult education classes offering practical vocational training would have been a help to the 19- and 17-year-old boys who were especially interested in electrical and mechanical engineering and expressed a desire for such training.

Health and social problems.—Housing congestion, unsatisfactory sleeping arrangements involving in 14 instances sharing beds with

two or three people, and other circumstances, including anxiety, irritability, and strain which arise from unemployment, may seriously affect the health, welfare, and social attitude of young people in the home.

Only 20 of the 134 boys and girls sixteen to twenty years of age had had illnesses for which medical attention had been sought within the last six months. Eight of those who had been ill needed further treatment, and in 13 other instances the boy or girl appeared to be in serious need of medical supervision.

An attempt was made to discover what use these young people were making of their leisure time, the social activities they engaged in, and their interests and needs. Nearly one-fourth (23 per cent) appeared to have little or no contact with any public or private recreational agencies. Playgrounds and parks were used by 38 per cent of the boys but by only 7 per cent of the girls. The opportunity to play ball doubtless attracted the boys to these places, whereas girls were not so likely to go except in the rare instances where organized recreational activities were afforded for those over the age of sixteen years. Clubs and community centers provided recreation for only 18 per cent of the boys and girls, and even here the girls were the most deprived, only 8 of the 60 claiming to belong to any kind of club or to be making use of any of the facilities offered by the Y.W.C.A., settlement house, community center, or similar organizations. Often the fee for membership or for swimming was prohibitive, and more often there were no nearby places where such recreation was available. Lack of carfare prevented many a youngster from taking advantage of the facilities offered at some center distant from his home.

About one-fourth of all these young people mentioned church activities as providing some means of recreation. Very few, only 11 per cent, mentioned social activities in connection with the schools, although doubtless much of the time of the boys and girls still in school was consumed by school work and by associations in connection with it. The public library was mentioned as a special place of interest to about one-fifth of the group. In one city the branch libraries in some of the schools had been closed for a time

the previous year, but protest on the part of the neighborhood was registered so strongly through the Parent-Teacher Association that they had been reopened. The mothers of the unemployed boys in one of the districts covered by the study said the branch library was the only source of recreation to those boys. When they were without it, all they had to do was roam the streets or hang around the drug store.

When asked what they would like to do for a good time, many hesitated, and only 43 gave definite responses. Fourteen, of whom 12 were boys, said they would like to belong to a club or to the Y.M.C.A., in order to be able to use such facilities for athletics and games. Nine others, 7 of them boys, might be added to this group because they definitely said they wanted more opportunity to participate in ball games or organized sports. A chance to swim without having to pay a fee for use of the pool was desired by nine others, and a place to dance without admission fee was mentioned by several. Movies were so outside the financial reach of some of these young people that they scarcely mentioned them, even as a desire. Sixty-six expressed no special recreational desires. To discover their needs would take more intensive study and more detailed questioning of the boys and girls themselves than was possible in the limited time available for this study.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL NEEDS REVEALED

The chief needs revealed in the analysis of the effects of the depression on 259 families in five cities may be summarized as follows:

1. More adequate relief, preferably on the basis of employment for all the able-bodied for whom suitable private employment cannot be provided, and also raising the standards of direct relief for the many families who must continue to be cared for in this way.
2. Increased facilities for case-work service to families so as to meet more adequately household, dietary, health, clothing, and recreational needs, and the more intangible but none the less important aspects of family relationship and management of whatever family resources may be available.

3. Increased provision for preventive health services and for medical and surgical care of the sick who have no means to pay physicians or hospitals.

4. Specialized case-work services to children in relief and non-relief families living under conditions conducive to neglect and delinquency.

5. Extension of educational opportunities for older young people and restoration of such essential parts of the school program as are concerned with care of children of preschool age, the development of creative skills, and the extension of social and recreational activities for parents and children and for older youth.

6. Extension of branch library services available to children.

7. Development of varied programs of recreational activities for children and youth of different ages, under competent leadership.

8. Development of special work opportunities for unemployed young people under twenty-five years of age who are ineligible for C.C.C. camps or who wish to remain in their home communities within the channels of opportunity for employment in private industry. These opportunities should be correlated with emergency education, recreation, and guidance services and with case-work services for youth whose problems require intensive consideration.

Above all, the experience of the depression years will have been sterile indeed, in relation to the future, if it does not develop in the minds and hearts of the public generally the resolution that never again must economic crises find us so unprepared, and that means shall be undertaken through the co-operation of the federal government and the states to assure American wage-earners and their families some measure of security in jobs and earnings, and more adequate community services for child welfare and public health.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

CHANGES IN WORK RELIEF IN CHICAGO

MARGARET COCHRAN BRISTOL

IN VIEW of the continuing importance of work relief in the program of public assistance to unemployed wage-earners in Chicago and because of the progressive changes that are still taking place, the study of work relief in Chicago which was started in March, 1934, with 407 cases,¹ has been extended to include an additional 416 men, 378 of whom received work relief in September, 1934, and 38 of whom received it in January, 1934, the same month in which the original group worked.²

The previous article in the December issue of the *Review* was based upon data obtained from the first 407 cases. In the following pages, the significant changes in the work-relief situation as indicated by the study of the 416 additional cases will be discussed, together with other aspects of work relief that were not considered in the previous article.

Among the changes that stand out most clearly are those concerned with the supervision of men on the job, the adequacy of tools, fitting the job to the individual, the regularity and amount of work relief received by each worker, and the introduction of physical examinations prior to the assignment of men on work relief.

Information regarding the supervision of the men and adequacy of tools was secured from 164 men who were interviewed.³ The nature of the immediate supervision of men varies, of course, from job

¹ This study which is a F.E.R.A. Educational Research Project is under the supervision of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. See Bristol and Wright, "Some Aspects of Work-Relief in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, VIII (December, 1934), 628.

² The total of 823 cases were selected at random from three district offices of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare (C.P.W.) and five districts of the Unemployment Relief Service (U.R.S.). The first sample of 407 cases was selected from men on work relief in January, 1934. This group with the additional 38 mentioned above is referred to in the following pages as the 1933 sample in order to distinguish it from the 378 men selected from among the men on work relief in September, 1934.

³ There were 103 men interviewed from the first group of 445 men who received work relief in January, and 61 from the later group of 378.

to job and from time to time, but it was very evident from the statements of these men that the supervision of work-relief jobs in 1934 as compared with 1933 was greatly improved both in quality and effectiveness.

Among the earlier group, there were several men who stated that the supervision was either lax and ineffective or was entirely lacking in a number of instances. More specifically, there were 19 of the 103 men interviewed who mentioned inadequate supervision as one of the drawbacks of work-relief jobs. One of these men said that the foreman was intoxicated most of the time, while another was disgusted with the fact that the men loafed and wasted so much time. A third complained that the men went into sheds and drank. There were only 2 of the 103 men who expressed the belief that supervision was adequate and that their supervisors were competent.

However, one gets an entirely different picture in reviewing the statements made by the 61 men in the second sample who were interviewed. Of these 61 men there were 38 whose statements were entirely favorable to the supervision received while on work-relief jobs. They agreed that in general the supervision was adequate and that the supervisors were competent.

Of the remaining 23 of the 61 men interviewed, there were 2 who said that the supervision was adequate although some of the men loafed and "nobody killed themselves with work." Another stated that the supervisor was "not a slave driver but was always on the job. He was there to help and to keep things going." And still another said that when he was assigned to his first work-relief job he didn't know who his "boss really was" but that this was not true on his later jobs. A fifth man reported that the foreman and timekeeper could neither read nor write and had to get one of the other workers to do his work for him.

It is quite evident that the supervision of work-relief jobs in 1934 as compared with 1933 was much improved. There can be little doubt, however, but that there is still much room for further improvement along this line.

There is also an interesting comparison between the conditions in 1933 and 1934 relative to the adequacy of tools and equipment, the available evidence pointing toward an improvement in the situation in 1934.

With regard to the earlier group, practically no data were available. Four of the 103 men interviewed, however, mentioned inadequacy of tools as one of the disadvantages of the work-relief jobs. One of these men said that the tools were in poor shape and difficult to use effectively. Another complained that the men were required to wait a long time for knives with which to work; and the third man, a carpenter, had to furnish his own tools, for there were none on the job. A fourth man injured his leg while using it as a lever in attempting to shovel snow and ice. He believed this would not have happened if he had been furnished with the necessary tools.

By way of contrast, there were 41 of the 61 men who were interviewed in the later sample who made definite statements to the effect that there was an adequate supply of tools and equipment for the men on the jobs. And there was only 1 of the 61 men who complained of the lack of tools although this was only on one project; and he added that on later jobs the tools and equipment were sufficient for their needs. This improvement in the adequacy of both supervision and tools may be accounted for by the fact that at the time the second sample was studied, the work-relief program had been in operation over a longer period of time, thus giving more opportunity for planning the projects in advance and for utilizing accumulated experience in administering work-relief programs.

The efforts to fit the job to the individual appear to have been more successful in 1934 than in 1933. More specifically, 2 men in the first sample of 407 cases as compared with 30 men in the second sample of 378 cases were assigned to jobs in which they could apply their own special skills. The first of the two men in the earlier sample is a one-legged man who was forced to use crutches in walking. He had had eight years of experience as an upholsterer and was placed as a furniture upholsterer in an army supply station. Even in this instance, however, it appears that this excellent placement may have been fortuitous because at later dates he was successively assigned to work as a carpenter and then to a job as a watchman. The second case is that of a Mr. L., a painter by trade, who was first assigned to a job digging ditches but after one week at this work, he was transferred to a job painting desks.

But in contrast to this, it was found that among the thirty men suitably adapted to their jobs in the second sample, there were seven

carpenters, eleven painters, five brickmasons, two sheet metal workers, one cement finisher, one iron worker, one machine operator, one lather and one clerk, all of whom were assigned to work-relief jobs in their own respective fields.

With regard to regularity and amount of work, it would seem that in order to preserve or to develop technical skills and good work habits and to maintain the necessary physical stamina, the work must not only be of approximately the same type to which a man has been accustomed, but must also be sufficient in amount and regularity to give a somewhat continuous opportunity for the exercise of his acquired skills and abilities. Here again the evidence secured from the second group of 378 men in the September sample seemed to indicate that work relief was not only being given with far greater regularity than in 1933 but was also provided in larger amounts than formerly. In 1933, eighteen days of work per month was the longest recorded work-relief assignment in any one month while in 1934 the longest period was twenty-four days. In 1933 the average amount of work given per man was six days a month as against ten days a month in 1934.

The increased regularity of work is clearly indicated in Table I, which shows a larger proportion of men who worked more *consecutive* months in 1934 than in 1933.

Table II presents another picture of the amount of work relief in the two groups by comparing the total amount of time actually worked with the total amount of time during which the men were eligible for work relief in corresponding months of the two years.⁴

It is evident from Table II that in 1933 the sample used included a total of 152 men who worked 2,519 out of a possible 33,982 man days in which they were eligible for work, or 7.4 per cent of their eligible time. In 1934 this figure was increased to 15.7 per cent, or about twice as much as in 1933.

But even this table does not give an adequate conception of the

⁴ Comparable periods were obtained for 1933 and 1934 by using the same months, January to September inclusive, in both years. Hence all men who had no work relief during any of the months from January to September were eliminated from the 1933 sample to make it comparable with the 1934 sample which was selected from men having work relief in September, 1934, one of the nine months utilized for this particular comparison.

total increase in work relief in Chicago, for, conceivably, the increase in the amount of work relief given to men once they were assigned to work relief might have been partially counterbalanced by

TABLE I
COMPARISON OF GROUP STUDIED FOR 1933 WITH GROUP
STUDIED 1934—BY CONSECUTIVE MONTHS
OF WORK RELIEF

NUMBER OF CONSECUTIVE MONTHS ON WORK RELIEF	1933 GROUP		1934 GROUP	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1.....	120	40.3	108	28.6
2.....	55	18.5	70	18.5
3.....	44	14.7	58	15.4
4.....	33	11.1	53	14.0
5.....	22	7.4	50	13.2
6.....	7	2.3	35	9.3
7.....	8	2.7	4	1.0
8.....	3	1.0	.....	.....
9.....	3	1.0	.....	.....
10.....	1	.3	.....	.....
11.....	2	.7	.....	.....
Total.....	298	100.0	378	100.0

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF MAN-DAYS WORKED JANUARY TO
SEPTEMBER IN 1933 AND IN 1934 FOR GROUP ELI-
GIBLE FOR WORK ASSIGNMENTS IN EACH PERIOD

	1933	1934
Men eligible for any work		
January to September.....	152	378
Possible man-days.....	33,982	84,864
Actual man-days		
Number.....	2,519	13,298
Per cent of possible days.....	7.4	15.7

the assignment of a smaller proportion of relief clients to work relief. From Table III it will be apparent that this is what actually happened. In September, 1933, 33.5 per cent of the relief population in Cook County were on work relief while in September, 1934, only 28.5 per cent were on work relief. On the other hand, despite this de-

crease in the *proportion* of the total relief population on work relief, there was a definite increase in the *numbers* of persons on work relief from 30,412 in September, 1933, to 37,449 in September, 1934. Hence the final result of these various factors represents a very considerable expansion in the extent of the work relief program during 1934.⁵

Turning now to the administrative aspects of the work-relief program, we find that during 1934 the situation remained much the same as in 1933 with two possible exceptions. In 1934 the actual as-

TABLE III
PROPORTION OF RELIEF CLIENTS ON WORK RELIEF IN COOK
COUNTY AND IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER,
1933, AND SEPTEMBER, 1934
(Figures from Illinois Emergency Relief Commission)

	TOTAL FAMILIES ON RELIEF	FAMILIES WITH MEMBER ON WORK RELIEF *	
		Number	Per Cent
Cook County			
September, 1933.....	90,570	30,412	33.5
September, 1934.....	131,610	37,449	28.5
State of Illinois			
September, 1933.....	210,837	50,771	24.0
September, 1934.....	284,600	82,659	29.0

* This is actually persons on work relief but as the policy is to give work assignment to one member of family only, figures are approximately correct for families.

signment of the men to work-relief jobs was made by the central assignment office instead of by the district-office vocational aides as was done previously. The second change of major importance was the introduction of physical examinations and ratings based on these examinations for each man prior to his assignment on work relief, and it is upon this significant development that the remainder of our discussion will be focused.

On the basis of the facts which were revealed in the study of the first 445 men in the 1933 sample with regard to the physical condition of these men, it was not surprising that some rather serious ac-

⁵ The C.W.A. program is excluded from this consideration. Although the figures for only one month have been compared in the two years, these represent very well the general trend in the use of work relief.

cidents occurred on the work-relief projects, owing largely to the disability of the men employed.⁶ These accidents doubtless hastened the introduction of a work-relief project in August of 1934 designed to provide physical examinations to all men working at this time. This procedure was initiated partly in order to protect the relief clients against avoidable injury or disease and partly to protect the state administration against unjust claims for compensation.⁷ Once under way, this program was continued and extended so that from then on, physical examinations are supposed to have been given to all men before they are assigned to work relief.

Physicians are instructed to classify all examinees into four groups designated as Classes A, B, C, and D. Assignment to Class A is based on the absence of apparent defects or physical limitations. Persons in Class A are qualified for any type of work. Assignments to Class B are based on the presence of physical under-development, slight anatomical defects or other moderate impairments such as moderately defective vision or hearing, well-compensated cardiovascular conditions, asthma, properly supported hernia or hydrocele, and hemorrhoids, in other words, conditions which would probably not be aggravated by ordinary work. These men may be placed on ordinary shovel and wheelbarrow work, at lifting and carrying lumber or similar materials and at any other work which does not involve the extreme muscular exertion required in such work as swinging a heavy sledge hammer or shoveling out a deep ditch. Men in this class may also work on scaffolds, in trees and upon other elevations.

Assignment to Class C is on the basis of the need for light work requiring special placement and must be based on a physician's report and recommendation. Class C ratings are determined by such findings as poor nutrition, old age, seriously defective vision or hearing, seizures of vertigo or epilepsy, diabetes, arteriosclerosis, compensated cardio-vascular conditions not placeable in Class B, moderately high blood pressure (about 170), past history of tuberculosis,

⁶ *Social Service Review*, VIII (1934), 647. Men with hernia, ulcers, cardiac conditions, and epilepsy were placed in jobs requiring hard labor during 1933.

⁷ *Monthly Bulletin on Relief Statistics*, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, October, 1934, p. 11.

hernias which are not well supported, recent operations, injuries or illnesses, partial paralysis and deformities not suitable for Class B. Such men may be expected to be assigned to work which is on the ground or to work not involving any continuous muscular exertion. They are therefore eligible for clerical and other white-collar work, or to work as flagmen, timekeepers, or in skilled trades to which the men are accustomed, or to other work not involving any considerable muscular exertion.

Physicians are instructed to assign to Class D any individual who is physically or mentally unadapted for any available work relief and who, if employed, would be a menace to himself, to his fellow workers, or to property. All communicable diseases, including gonorrhea, if a discharge is present, or syphilis, if open lesions are apparent, are included in group D.

Furthermore, all physicians are instructed to bear in mind that the spirit of the medical survey is to adapt the applicants to work and not primarily to exclude them from it. Accordingly they give some consideration to the man's usual occupation and vocation as well as to his physical disability. For instance, the blind, who have been earning a living at some kind of work within their capacity, such as piano tuning, are placed in Class C rather than in Class D. Reclassification upward in the scale occurs rather frequently after correction of some defects, such as the securing of orthopedic appliances or minor surgery. However, surgery is seldom recommended unless by this means a man is made immediately employable and work is available for him.

All persons in Class C are referred to the Vocational Handicap Department of the Illinois Free Employment Bureau. Here their names are "cleared"; and if they are not already registered, they are registered and are then called in to the office of the Bureau for an interview with a vocational adviser. Following this interview, they are referred back to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission with advice as to the type of work-relief job for which they are best qualified. And because of the fact that these men are also registered for industrial employment with the Illinois Free Employment Bureau, some of these handicapped men are placed in regular employment in this way.

In view of these new developments regarding physical examinations prior to work-relief assignments, the case records of 646 of the 823 men originally studied were rechecked to date (February, 1935) to ascertain the actual physical condition, or at least the physical rating, of the men who had been examined by the physicians under this new policy.³

There were 182 out of the 646 cases that were rechecked in which there was no record of any physical examination. Of these 182 men

TABLE IV
MEDICAL CLASSIFICATION

CLASS	COOK COUNTY *		WORK-RELIEF SAMPLE	
	Number of Men Examined	Per Cent Distribution	Number of Men Examined	Per Cent Distribution
A.....	18,756	50.8	234	50.5
B.....	11,531	31.3	142	30.6
C.....	6,135	16.6	81	17.4
D.....	482	1.3	7	1.5
Totals.....	36,904	100.0	464	100.0

* Figures are taken from *Monthly Bulletin on Relief Statistics*, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, January, 1935, and include total reported through October 15, 1934.

who were not examined by the physicians, there were 82, or 45 per cent, whose cases had been closed for various reasons before the examinations were given. One hundred men, however, were still on work relief, although they have apparently never had a physical examination. This proportion will doubtless be reduced as time goes on.

Table IV gives the analysis of the 464 cases in which physical examinations were given together with figures showing a comparison with the percentage of men placed in each class for the total examined for work relief in Cook County. Attention is called to the close correspondence between the sample studied, who had actually had

³ Only 646 of the records were accessible for the recheck. Some could not be located and others had been transferred to offices at too great a distance. The case records in one district where there had been only a small number of cases originally were not rechecked because of the distance of this office.

work-relief assignments, and the total examined. The classification of the men in the sample studied confirms the doubts about the fitness for the work expressed in the previous article and shows clearly the need for medical examinations.

This study was concerned not only with the classification of the men but the effect the knowledge obtained by their examination had on their work assignments. The seven men in Class D who had been doing laboring work prior to the physical examination were all removed from work relief immediately after the examination and were placed back on direct relief.

The object of the Relief Administration is to provide light work for men in Class C. An examination of the records showed that 20 of the 81 men in this class had been given light work before the examination, and when this study was made only 2 more had been given light work. Of the others 33 had been removed from work relief and put on direct relief and 26 had been left at their work as laborers.

It is interesting to consider the variety of conditions which caused these 81 men to be placed in Class C. There were, for example, reports of hypertension, poor vision, old age, history of tuberculosis, myocarditis, diabetes, and arthritis.

Among this group there were two cases which warrant special discussion. The first is that of a man thirty-eight years of age who, three months prior to the physical examination for work relief, had had a severe case of mumps involving not only the parotid gland but also the prostate gland. The genital organs were still inflamed at the time of the examination, and the report came back to the district office that he had been placed in Class D because of a diagnosis of chronic gonorrhea. The client had not been informed by the examining physician of the basis for his low classification and when the situation was discussed with him by the case worker, it was found that there was no history of such a disease in this case. The man was referred for re-examination to the Municipal Social Hygiene Clinic, where the tests for gonorrhea turned out to be negative.

The second case is that of a man who had previously been employed on C.W.A. but had had to stop work because of an arthritic condition apparently caused by a nasal infection. However, after

the physical examination, he was placed in Class B on the basis of hemorrhoids which he had had for over a year. Mr. N. was very anxious to return to work and was elated over his assignment to work relief in December, 1934. His first assignment was a laboring job but he was later put in charge of a small group of men by the foreman who was well pleased with his work. For a little over a month he seemed to get along very well with his work. He was more satisfied than he had been on direct relief and gained about sixteen pounds in weight. But during the latter part of January he began to be irregular in reporting for work, claiming, however, that his foreman always allowed him to make up the time. Within a very short time he had lost six pounds and complained that his rectum was "stopped up," that his prostate glands were "not functioning," and that his breathing was difficult because of a "nasal impediment." He finally explained to the case worker that he should never have been placed in Class B and probably would not have been placed there had he not lied to the examining physician because of his anxiety to obtain work.

Concerning the twenty-six men who remained in laboring jobs despite their physical rating in Class C, the vocational directors in the District Offices in which these cases were studied, stated that although these men were still classed as laborers, the work which they did was really not difficult; that it consisted for the most part of watching tools and equipment, carrying water, etc. In such cases, the men merely showed their cards indicating their physical condition to the foreman who then gave them light work instead of the heavier labor.

It was possible to interview 14 of these 26 men in Class C who were still classed as laborers at the time their records were studied. Because of the special significance of this group in helping to evaluate the results of physical examinations, a brief summary of a few of these cases is included here.

Mr. C, a man over sixty years of age, was placed in Class C because of a cardiac condition although he said he felt well and capable of hard work. Up until February, 1935, he was assigned to laboring jobs but was at this time changed to a patrol job. Since the change to less strenuous work, he says he is feeling much better.

Mr. Y was removed from a work-relief job which required hard manual labor and was given a position as watchman. Since this transfer, he is feeling much better doing the lighter work although he does not know that he possesses any specific handicap.

Mr. T had been working as a laborer until February, 1935, at which time he was given work as a guard. He now says he feels much better as the former job was too hard for him.

Mr. M, who has an unsupported hernia, was told by the doctor that he was placed in Class C but he was not informed as to the nature of his handicap. He is now doing wrecking work and finds the work very difficult. Although he has asked three times to be transferred to lighter work, there has been no change yet. He has not been allowed to consult the district vocational adviser.

Mr. P's physical examination report indicated that he had a potential hernia and a history of tuberculosis. The doctor's recommendation was "no muscular exertion." At this time the man had a heart condition for which he was attending a clinic regularly every two weeks, but no statement appeared in the physician's report regarding his condition. The man worked on a job moving lumber until he had a heart attack while on the job. At that time he was transferred to a job watching tools. He had previously been afraid to ask for light work lest he be put on direct relief or be given a night job.

Although the physical examination of Mr. N showed that he had hypertension, he thinks he was placed in Class C because of two broken ribs which no longer bother him. He considers the rating unfair. However, he is doing "regular labor work" and likes it very much. He says he has felt no ill effects from the heavy work.

Although Mr. O says that he feels well, he was rated in Class C without being informed of the reason for this classification. He had been a laborer up until January, 1935, when he was transferred to direct relief.

Mr. B is deaf but is otherwise in good condition. He has been assigned to "digging" in the Forest Preserves. He likes the work and says that he feels fine.

Mr. G has an unsupported hernia. He has been loading a wheel barrow and believes that the work is too difficult. He is to be re-examined soon.

From such cases as the above, the importance of physical examinations is clearly demonstrated. On the other hand, there are instances in which the question naturally arises as to the adequacy of the examinations and the need of some provision for re-examination and re-interpretation of findings from time to time as conditions change. There are some indications that the examinations tend to be superficial and that in a few cases, the recommendations are either overlooked or disregarded. In general, however, the situation in 1934 is very much improved in this respect over that in 1933.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the work-relief situation in 1934 in Chicago has definitely changed and apparently improved over that in 1933 in a number of ways. Chief among these are the marked increases in both the amounts and regularity of work relief, the greater effectiveness of the supervision of the men on the jobs, more adequate tools and equipment, the increasing efforts to fit the jobs to the needs of the men and to utilize skills and training in the appropriate types of work, and finally in the introduction of physical examinations and ratings for all men before assignment to work-relief jobs.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL VALUES IN
C.W.A. ASSIGNMENTS: A STUDY OF SIXTY-
ONE FAMILIES ON RELIEF BEFORE
AND AFTER C.W.A.¹

DOROTHY MACK

A STUDY of men given work-relief assignments in January, 1934, reported in this *Review* for December, 1934,² showed reasons for believing that with all the limitations of work relief as then administered it had definite psychological and emotional values to the men. Some of the limitations in the work-relief program, especially the uncertainty and irregularity of the work, were not found in the Civil Works Administration program; and, it was believed, therefore, that a better idea of the possibilities of work relief in this direction could be obtained by studying a group who had had C.W.A. assignments. This study was made by a case-worker in the Unemployment Relief Service and includes sixty-one families on her list with members who were given such assignments. She was working with all the families after their return to the relief rolls, and with all but a few before their assignment as well. Thus the family descriptions and the report of their reactions to the work assignment are based on a more intimate knowledge than could be gained by an outside investigator.

The material is presented in a series of case stories, grouped to bring together those who had somewhat similar problems with which to cope. The first group of seven are those presenting complicated problems of family relationships, usually antedating the unemployment problem.

The A family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. A and five children, became known to social service agencies in 1923, a few years after the marriage of Mr. and

¹ This is a chapter from a dissertation being prepared to meet the requirements for the M.A. degree in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago.

² Margaret Cochran Bristol and Helen R. Wright, "Some Aspects of Work-Relief in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, VIII (1934), 628-52.

Mrs. A. In Chicago they had been known to the United Charities since 1929 and to the Unemployment Relief Service since January, 1932. Throughout their history Mr. A's constant intoxication, followed by unemployment, were the major problems. Relatives tried every method to separate the couple, but Mrs. A refused to leave him, staunchly defending his drinking, occasional beatings, and his irresponsibility toward his family. When C.W.A. was proposed Mrs. A thought that this might help straighten him out. During the first few weeks her hopes seemed to be fulfilled. Mr. A actually worked and very rarely was intoxicated. But, with the novelty of the work worn off, and the ready cash to buy liquor, Mr. A never again came home sober from his job. His wife no longer even had the security of food and shelter that had been provided by relief. She stated, "It was much harder than relief. At least, on relief we were sure of eating." Yet the work, to some extent, again awakened a feeling of responsibility in Mr. A. When he lost his C.W.A. job he refused to apply for relief, but insisted on finding some work himself. He found a few odd jobs, not even enough to care for the food. But, it was only after they had begun to sell some of their few broken pieces of furniture to the passing junkman that the family once more came to the relief organization.

Mr. B had long been a serious problem because of alcoholism, which finally brought with it delusions of persecution. He suspected his wife, his friends, everyone of poisoning him. Often his entire family, half dressed, were forced to take shelter in the middle of the night with neighbors, when Mr. B would get up threatening to kill off his entire household. There were several separations. His wife bravely met the situation with the assistance of the United Charities, who were active from 1921 until 1933, when the responsibility of the family was transferred to the Unemployment Relief Service as an unemployment problem, with Mr. B's drinking and delusions fairly well in control. During the several month's contact with Unemployment Relief Service prior to placement, Mr. B was more or less mildly intoxicated a few times and only had a few attacks of delirium tremens, and these were not so severe as they had been in the past. He was thoroughly frightened of recurring attacks. With the advent of C.W.A., which meant the return of employment and the return of cash, Mrs. B stated that he was not drunk once and had only one minor attack. She felt that the work was "good for him" in that it kept him busy and left him too tired at the end of the day to think or do very much but relax and sleep. This period thus helped relieve a great deal of the strain and worry from her and made her much happier. Not only was the fear of her husband's recurring attacks removed, but also pressing economic obligations such as rent, gas, and light were being met regularly. Previously, a daughter who averaged about \$5 a week on a part-time job had attempted to meet part of these needs. They had felt very uncomfortable and resented being asked to have her contribute part of her earnings to the family budget.

Mr. C, while on relief, presented the problem of emotional dependence on his wife. He cried easily and always seemed to be looking for comfort and protection. He worried constantly about his rent, gas, and light, and was never able to make an adjustment himself. He was very nervous, and a physician diagnosed his ailment as "extreme nervousness, similar to shell shock." The physician also attributed his present condition to the unemployment situation. Mr. C found some satisfaction in imagining himself or his children ill. While he worked on his C.W.A. assignment his energies were centered on his job, and he became quieter, less restless. He gained weight, and practically all his symptoms of ill health disappeared. His wife stated, "He didn't have time to think about being sick." He remained, however, still quite dependent on his wife. It was she who planned the expenditures or made any changes in the home. Mrs. C was quite capable of accepting the complete dependence of her husband and seemed quite happy to be a mother to him.

This change in the emotional reaction is also seen in the attitude of the family toward relief. While the family were receiving assistance, Mr. C was extremely dependent. He seemed to be paralyzed by any critical situation and spent his time and energy in the office weeping and pleading for assistance with the case worker. When the family returned to the relief organization they seemed to have undergone a complete change. Mr. C no longer found it necessary to make extreme and constant demands. He was transferred to work relief from C.W.A., and for two months when his earnings did not cover his budget and when supplementation by direct relief was offered, to the surprise of everyone, he refused to take it, preferring to live on credit.

The D family, consisting of six members, first became known to social service agencies when they applied for assistance in May 2, 1933. Mr. D had worked thirteen years for one firm as a general clerk with a salary of \$33 a week. At one time he had prepared for the ministry. He was a very intelligent, calm, and emotionally stable person. Mrs. D, on the other hand, was highly strung, nervous, and infantile in her complete dependence on her children and her husband. She had had nervous breakdowns at various critical moments in her life, including a serious breakdown just before the family applied for relief. As a child she was closely attached to her parents, and the routine tasks of caring for a home were always distasteful to her. While on relief, she seemed to have lost all interest in her home, and allowed the burden of caring for it to rest on the shoulders of her oldest daughter. When the worker visited, she discussed their problems in a tired, listless voice, sitting curled up on the couch, while her daughter was sweeping the floor or preparing the meal in a rather haphazard fashion. She was not interested in people, and rarely left the house. Some attempt was made by the case worker to meet the problem with the able and understanding help of the husband and the co-operation of Mrs. D. With C.W.A., contact with the agency was closed. Yet Mr. D felt that some of the strain, some of the listlessness, of his wife disappeared, and that she showed some slight interest in the home and her

children. She would occasionally clean the house herself, and often went for walks. The change, however, was very slight; obviously further help was needed. Possibly if case work treatment could have been continued when the family felt independent economically, greater change might have been effected.

The E family, while on relief, presented serious problems of family interrelationship. A great deal of friction arose because of a twenty-four-year-old daughter, who, earning from \$60 to \$65 a month, had to contribute \$45 to \$50 of her income to the family budget. She was a large, not particularly attractive girl, with few friends in Chicago of either sex. She was engaged, however, to a young man, a miner in a small town in California. The family, particularly the mother, and the girl bitterly resented the Unemployment Relief Service's policy of budgeting her income. They appealed to all outside agencies to have the policy changed. The girl threatened suicide, made numerous plans to leave the home, and the mother on each visit vehemently attacked the relief organization. When a son obtained a C.W.A. job, the daughter contributed only \$20 a month. She made a trip to California to visit her fiancé, and was out of the home, contributing nothing, for practically a month. Although the son's salary was not much more than the daughter's, the family did not resent accepting practically his entire earnings for family needs. The smaller voluntary contribution of the daughter seemed to lessen the strain between the various members of the family, and when the family reapplied for assistance there were no hysterics, no threats of breaking up the home, no threats of suicide. A month later, the daughter returned, once more resumed her job, her earnings were again budgeted, and again a similar reaction, a similar strain took place.

Other problems in the family relationships concerned Mr. and Mrs. E, who did not get along very well with each other. Mrs. E had married against the advice of her parents and always seemed to feel that her husband should somehow make up for the disapproval of her relatives. She resented his unemployment and his inability to take care of the family. Mr. E, to win some attention and consideration from his wife, would occasionally resort to drinking and violent quarrels. At times he threatened to kill her. Mrs. E placed him several times under peace bond. The C.W.A. assignment was given to the son, as Mr. E had a hernia and refused medical care. Mrs. E continued to feel superior to her husband and never consulted him in the management of the home. He did not know what his son earned nor how the money was used. There were fewer quarrels, however, as Mrs. E was under less strain from the economic situation. When the family reapplied for assistance and they were once more budgeted for all income, violent outbreaks again occurred.

Mr. F had an excellent record of employment as a carpenter. During the two and one-half years of unemployment prior to his placement on C.W.A., he made a desperate fight to uphold the standard of living that he had been able to maintain while he earned as high as \$60 a week. He was upset by his inability to meet

the needs of his family during the period of irregular employment. He became easily irritated at home and was domineering in the household, giving very little freedom to his six grown sons and his mother-in-law, who had made a home for them after his wife died in 1928. He was a very intelligent person, and sought an answer to the economic dilemma in books on philosophy and economics which were always seen in his home when the worker visited. He escaped from his old neighborhood, ruthlessly uprooting his family from the friends which they had made, with the excuse that he might find employment in this new neighborhood. The children continued to travel to the schools in the old neighborhood.

C.W.A. helped him gain some of his confidence back. He was no longer so restless, nor so irritable. He was working and was able to meet the needs of his family on a much higher level than that supplied to the family while on relief. He did not find enough security in C.W.A., however, to return to the old neighborhood, but continued to live in a flat, renting at \$40 a month, and in a neighborhood where his family were completely alone.

The G family came to the attention of the Unemployment Relief Service in February, 1933. Mr. G lost his job, after ten years of service for one firm, in October, 1932. He was extremely irritated by unemployment, and requested work at each visit of the case worker. He was restless and irritable, and Mrs. G stated that she had to be extremely careful with him.

A sixteen-year-old daughter of Mrs. G's by a former marriage was also complicating the family situation. She had dropped out of high school shortly after the family applied for relief because of their inability to give her the necessary clothes or the other small things her friends in school had. At home she too was restless and unhappy and seemed to feel no responsibility for the family. Her relations with her mother were not good, as her mother clearly identified her with her father, with whom Mrs. G had been very unhappy.

In this situation the assignment to work under C.W.A. helped appreciably. Mr. G found great satisfaction in his work; he enjoyed being busy and was no longer moody and irritable at home. The daughter was immediately returned to school and she too seemed happier. The improvement in her case, however, was very temporary. A few months after the family returned to relief she was expelled from school and was again at home as unhappy and disturbing as before.

C.W.A., therefore, for these seven families presenting complicated problems of family interrelationship, helped to relieve the strain and irritation which followed unemployment. But, as one would expect, difficulties arising from alcoholism, domestic incompatibility, emotional dependence, and other problems of family interrelationship which did not arise out of unemployment were not materially affected by employment on C.W.A. These are problems for social

case-work treatment, but it is worth recording that with one possible exception these difficulties were less acute while some member of the family had his C.W.A. assignment. It is to be regretted that arrangements were not made by which case work could be done with regard to these problems while the economic problem was less acute.

The next two families also presented problems of family relationships but in a much less acute form. Prior to the period of the man's unemployment there was some domestic friction, which had been appreciably increased during his period of idleness.

Mr. and Mrs. H are both quite independent. They had both been married before and divorced. While Mr. H was employed they had quarreled occasionally, but while on relief, "it was like hell," he once told an interviewer. Both Mr. and Mrs. H seemed to have little confidence in each other, and even when the worker visited, they constantly contradicted each other's statements in angry tones. With C.W.A. Mr. H was once again able to assume the responsibility of the home. The rent was being paid, and the gas and light were being kept up. And again Mr. H was "treated like a man."

Mr. and Mrs. I, likewise, had both been married before their present union. Mrs. I was always dissatisfied, always nagging. She refused to take care of a son by her husband's previous marriage. Yet no serious outbreaks occurred while the family were independent. While on relief, her irritation seemed to have increased, she resented living on grocery orders, and she constantly complained of the insufficiency of relief. Mr. I fortunately bore her nagging in a good-humored fashion and was seldom very much irritated by her. But now and then violent quarrels would result. With C.W.A., a great deal of strain was removed from her. She could buy what she pleased. Her husband was working and not at home "under foot" all the time. Her nagging somewhat decreased, and both felt much happier during the C.W.A. period.

Thus in these two families where unemployment seemed to increase domestic friction C.W.A. helped to relieve the strain by providing a certain degree of economic independence and by establishing the man once again as the head of the household.

The five families immediately following are selected from a group of nineteen whose situation was roughly similar. They are all families for whom inability to meet the rent, the careful planning required in making the grocery ticket last, the long period of unemployment, brought with it dissatisfaction, restlessness, and worry. In some of these families it was more pronounced than in others. These fam-

ilies, however, presented no other complicated problems of family interrelationship. They were known to a social-service agency only because of unemployment.

The K family have been known to the Unemployment Relief Service since June, 1932. The family were disturbed by Mr. K's unemployment and particularly by their inability to meet their current obligations of rent, gas, and light. Even on relief, they somehow managed to keep them up, through the assistance of an old employer, friends, and through special work provided by the relief organization. C.W.A. provided security and relieved the anxiety the family had experienced about meeting their current obligations. As Mrs. K exclaimed, "It was almost like heaven. There was nothing to worry about." The satisfaction and relief which the family experienced while Mr. K was employed only accentuated the problem when the family reapplied. As Mr. K expressed it, "It made you feel that you would like to keep working all the time. I'd rather work two weeks without pay than go down to the place for one complaint." Mrs. K was frightened by a recurring period of relief. For weeks before the family applied she worried constantly, barely able to sleep, and as she told the worker brokenly on the first visit, "I was almost crazy with worry." Shortly afterward, half her face was paralyzed, and the doctor diagnosed the situation as being caused by anxiety.

The L family consisted of a deserted woman and two children, a girl of eighteen and a boy of ten. Mrs. L applied for assistance in December, 1932, when she lost her job as a saleslady. While the family were receiving relief they were extremely co-operative and revealed initiative in finding odd jobs to meet their rent and other incidental needs. A few months prior to placement Mrs. L's odd jobs dwindled to nothing. The fear of eviction was pressing. The family were living in furnished rooms and the landlord constantly threatened locking the door some night when the family were out. He had already carried out his threats with several families in the building. Mrs. L worried constantly, she would cry easily, found herself even irritated with the children, and told the worker that she developed nervous indigestion. C.W.A. gave her a definite sense of security. She knew she could meet the rent each month. The landlord knew she was working and ceased his daily visits for rent. She was less harassed, her nervousness seemed to disappear, and she "ate more regularly and slept nights." With the loss of the C.W.A. job, Mrs. L did not reapply promptly, although she had no money left over, but borrowed from friends as she had heard that work-relief assignments would be given to some of the workers on C.W.A. Even when she finally received work relief, and the earnings did not cover her budget, she hesitated asking for supplementation, fearing that direct relief might jeopardize her work-relief assignments. The security and the satisfaction she obtained from the work were too dear to be sacrificed.

The M family were known to the Unemployment Relief Service since February, 1932. They were living with friends who owned their two-story bungalow but whose small income did not leave enough to cover the expenses of the property. Mrs. M, a thin, nervous woman, was much distressed by her inability to pay her rent and help her friend. She was also irritated by making the "ticket" last and by her inability to buy what she pleased under the limited articles of the grocery order. She attempted to meet the situation calmly, but occasionally she would break under the strain and burst into tears before the worker, for which she afterward rather shamefacedly apologized. C.W.A. gave her the opportunity to pay her rent to this friend, and plan and buy as she pleased. The tension was relieved. She "slept better," her "nerves were quieter," and she "felt better all around."

The N family consisted of Mr. N, sixty-four years old, Mrs. N, who had a serious heart condition, and a son, thirty-four years of age. The family were very worried about Mrs. N's health condition. Although a special diet had been supplied by the Unemployment Relief Service, they still found it very difficult to supply her needs. The family also owned their own property and were worried by their inability to meet the current obligations on the property. C.W.A. helped to relieve this tension, as the family were able easily to purchase the necessary food and were able to meet some of their obligations on the property.

Mr. O was a tall, quiet man who had taken care of his family adequately until September, 1932, when he was forced to apply for assistance because of unemployment. He did not know what to do with his time. He was not used to hanging around the corners with other men of the neighborhood. He was discouraged by the constant refusals in his search of employment. He sat around the kitchen, a quiet, morose, worried figure. His wife, a meticulous housekeeper, had enough work to do. She was worried by the piling debts of rent, gas, and light. She was irritated by her husband always at home. She earnestly told the worker, "You know, whether the man is working or not, the woman has her work to do. He is a nuisance in the kitchen all the time, and always under foot." They also felt very guilty about accepting relief and felt that they must express their gratitude and their satisfaction with the adequacy of the relief at every visit. It is interesting to note that this same family refused a Christmas basket distributed by the church because they felt that they were not entitled to one while they were already receiving assistance. C.W.A. relieved this family of the strain of pressing obligations. Mr. O was again gone almost all day, working. He would come home, tired but happy. He had been busy. His nervous paces of the floor at night ceased. His moodiness disappeared, and he was once more able to play and laugh with his children.

The next families discussed are representative of a group of sixteen in which the most noticeable effect of a long period of unem-

ployment and grocery orders was a loss of self-respect and self-confidence. In some of these families, too, it will be observed there was friction between the various members of the family.

The P family resented being dependent. Mr. P, a large, aggressive man, stated he was "nervous sitting around the house all day with nothing to do." He wanted to "take a punch at everyone." He did "punch" a gas collector who had come to shut off the gas. He constantly quarreled with the case worker, becoming very unruly in the office several times. He joined the Unemployed Council and seemed to find some satisfaction in their aggressive demands on the relief organization. He found a quieter outlet in making elaborate toys for his children. Mrs. P was quieter and less aggressive in her relationships with her family and with the organization. She worried constantly, however, and was many pounds under weight. Her face broke out in a rash which somehow did not yield itself to medicine while Mr. P was unemployed. She was easily irritated with her husband and for a while the family planned a separation. "I'm not very strong," she explained, "and he was always so excited and so crabby." On C.W.A. Mr. P found employment as a foreman. He regained his self-confidence and no longer found it necessary to convince either himself or others of his ability by violent outbreaks. He became quieter, less irritable, and the friction between husband and wife seemed to disappear. Her health too improved remarkably; not only did her skin condition clear up following the use of medicine bought at a drug store, but her weight increased from 86 to 110 pounds, a gain of 24 pounds in three months.

When Mr. P reapplied for relief he was more co-operative and ready to listen and accept the policies of the organization. He stated that reapplication for relief was very hard, even harder than the original application. He did everything he could before applying. "I walked the streets. I offered to buy jobs. And for four weeks we lived on barely nothing." Both look back with longing to the days of C.W.A. "You don't know how much happier we were."

Mr. and Mrs. R were a young couple who applied for relief in September, 1932, shortly after their marriage. Mr. R was an attractive young man, barely twenty-one at the time of his marriage, who had several years' employment as an insurance salesman. He had been the favorite son of his own family and appeared rather immature and unprepared to take the responsibility of caring for his wife. Mrs. R was twenty-four and an only child. Her mother was closely attached to her and resented the intrusion of the son-in-law. She had desperately tried to prevent this marriage and any other marriages which the daughter had contemplated in the past. Now that Mr. R was unemployed the mother constantly teased her daughter with her husband's inability to support her, and tempted her with parties, beautiful clothes, and other comforts to leave him. Mrs. R was inexperienced at housekeeping, and found it difficult to make the coal and the grocery ticket stretch over the allotted number of days. When these

ran out and there was nothing to eat at home, and no coal, she would leave her husband to live with her parents. In August, 1932, just prior to application, she had yielded to her mother and had applied to the Court of Domestic Relations, planning to get a divorce. With the introduction of relief, she thought she could manage. Mr. R was irritated by his inability to find employment and the competition offered by his mother-in-law. In order to keep his wife with him and to save some of his self-respect, he would occasionally burst forth with aggressive demands upon the relief organization.

C.W.A. offered him employment and offered him an opportunity to take adequate care of himself and his wife. There was no need to be dependent on either his parents or his wife's parents for supplementation because the orders wouldn't last. His mother-in-law could no longer accuse him of being shiftless, loafing, or of being unwilling to take responsibility. Furthermore, he was promoted from a laborer to a foreman by the assigned foreman on the project. His self-respect and confidence in himself soared. He spoke with pride and confidence of what he achieved on the project and how well the two of them had managed. Mrs. R also expressed her pride and confidence in her husband. She felt that C.W.A. helped her realize that her difficulty with her husband was only due to unemployment, and she was very happy that she had not allowed her mother to separate them, adding, "You don't know how much C.W.A. meant to us!"

The U family, consisting of four members, had been known to the relief organization since May, 1932. Mr. U had been a cutter by trade and prior to the depression his earnings were about \$45 a week. Mr. U, about fifty-four years old, was bitter over the present economic situation, which made his family dependent. He found some satisfaction in discussing the present situation with the case worker, and it was noted that his antagonism and rebellion toward the relief organization and toward the world in general seemed to subside after these discussions. Mrs. U was not very well, suffering from chronic ulcers of the stomach. She was nervous and irritable. She resented the limited budget and the direct form of relief.

Mr. U was assigned on C.W.A. as a cutter. He was working and was earning money. His irritation and his dissatisfaction with himself and the community seemed somewhat to disappear. The tension in the home was relieved. Mrs. U was able to buy what she pleased and where she pleased with cash and not a grocery order. An eighteen-year-old son stated, "I hated going to the store with the ticket. Everybody would look at you. Everyone knew you were on relief right away. I tried going early in the morning, just before I left for school, so that nobody would see me. On C.W.A., there were no tickets to go to the grocery store any more. My mother bought for cash." The thought of again receiving direct relief was extremely distasteful, and Mrs. U exclaimed, "I'd rather die than go back to orders again." Fortunately, Mr. U was transferred to work relief from his C.W.A. assignment.

Mr. V, fifty-nine years old, and his wife, sixty-four years old, had been known to the Unemployment Relief Service since August, 1932. Mr. V had been at various times manager of a shipping room, a foreman, and manager of a small barber shop. He had always been able to maintain his wife and himself on an independent basis. The three years of unemployment made him restless and extremely despondent. Wherever he went looking for a job he was always turned down with a curt, "You are too old." He became bitter and began slowly to lose hope of ever becoming independent. C.W.A. did not raise a barrier against men of his age, and Mr. V found employment as a laborer. He proved to himself that he could work, that he could even do physical labor, and that he need not be "shelved." As he expressed it, "I got a new lease on life."

The W family, consisting of Mr. W, forty-eight years old, and his wife, fifty-two years old, had been known to the Unemployment Relief Service since August, 1932. Mr. W had a good history of employment as a maintenance man. While the family were on relief they had been living with some friends. The family were ashamed of being dependent on their friends for rent and worried constantly about making payment to them. Mrs. W was ill with an advanced case of diabetes. She was receiving medical care at a clinic and the budget had been adjusted with a special diet allowance. The family, however, still found it difficult to buy the necessary food for her. Mr. W keenly felt his inability to provide for his wife. He searched diligently for employment, but his failure only left him more discouraged. He finally doubted his ability of ever finding employment and ever being independent. He attempted to face the situation calmly, but occasionally he would break into tears before the worker. He was again able to take care of his wife when he found employment with C.W.A. He was easily able to buy the food required, and rent was paid to the friend who had sheltered them during his unemployment. His confidence in himself returned. He again felt that he could sell himself to an employer. His moodiness disappeared. "I was working," he proudly told the worker, "and I could again hold my head up when I met people."

These families are typical of the group where unemployment was followed by a loss of self-respect, loss of self-confidence, and irritation. For them all, C.W.A., by providing employment, helped to restore self-confidence and relieve the tension.

In the group of sixty-one there were five other families in which a loss of self-confidence was noted. These are distinguished from the group just discussed by their apparent acceptance of the situation and attitude of indifference and dependence. Two of the five responded to C.W.A. by becoming more alert and aggressive; the others appeared little affected. Each response is illustrated.

The X family, consisting of Mrs. X, sixty-two years old, and her son of twenty-three, had been known to relief organizations since 1931. In their contacts with the worker prior to placement, they had rarely expressed their own point of view. They had accepted relief without much question and without much apparent conflict. The son, it was noted, appeared moody and unhappy. He rarely spoke to the worker aside from answering direct questions bluntly and briefly. When the family reapplied the worker was amazed at the change in the attitude of the family. They were bitter and antagonistic toward the relief organization; the period of independence during the son's C.W.A. assignment seemed to have given them courage and confidence to express their reaction even with some vehemence. Although following contacts were not pleasant and *rap-port* had to be carefully established, it was felt that this aggressive attitude was more hopeful than the preceding quiet, placid acceptance of relief.

The Y family have been receiving relief since 1931. They had placidly accepted relief, making very little attempt to meet any of their needs themselves. Mr. Y was not even able to earn enough money for a broom for the household. Gas and light had been met by a landlord who was a close friend of the family. The danger seemed to have been that Mr. Y, because of the long period of unemployment, had lost all desire to work and again support his family independently. He accepted C.W.A. enthusiastically, and the family of six lived on his earnings of \$196 for three months without attempting to obtain any outside assistance. Yet when the family again became known to the Unemployment Relief Service there was no definite change in their attitude. Mr. Y again made no attempt to find employment, but spent his days, as before, sitting in the neighborhood saloon. All needs of the family were again left to be supplied by the relief organization.

In nine of the families studied, adverse effects of unemployment and relief had not been noted. There was little irritation; there were no problems of family interrelationship. The men were eager to find employment, and some were able to find odd jobs. C.W.A. was eagerly accepted by all of them, and they all expressed the increased ease with which they managed with cash and the relief they felt in being able to provide for their current needs and occasionally pay a little on their pressing debts. One thrifty housewife told the worker, "I could take advantage of the bargains in the various stores, because I didn't have to buy in one store all the time." Another said, "It was like living again to have a dollar in your pocket." Thus, for this group, who had adjusted themselves to the unemployment situation, C.W.A. nevertheless made for greater ease and comfort.

One family, however, felt that C.W.A. added to the strain which they had experienced while receiving relief.

This family, consisting of four persons, had managed for three months on \$148. Thus it is not surprising to have Mrs. Z tell the worker. "I don't care any more whether he works or not as long as we have something to eat. It was awful hard while he was on C.W.A. Sometimes we didn't know where he would be able to get enough to eat that day." Mr. Z, it is interesting to note, did not share her views. He requested work relief, although at the time the budget limitations on work relief would have made it very difficult for the family to manage. He seemed to get enough satisfaction out of working to balance the difficulties of managing under budget.

This accounts for fifty-eight of the sixty-one families studied. The other three were not sufficiently well known to enable the worker to get their reactions either to the unemployment situation or to their assignment to work under C.W.A.

The number of families studied here is obviously small to allow general conclusions about the effects of the C.W.A. program on those who shared in it. It is significant, however, that with negligible exceptions these sixty-one families benefited by the work assignments and got from them the help in the maintenance of general morale that was one of the objectives of this program as well as of the program of work relief.

The intimate accounts of some of the families make clear the value of the work assignment with its accompaniment of cash and independence. They make clear, too, the increased hardship for many of the families when the C.W.A. program came to an end and the family was forced once more to reapply for assistance.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A SUMMARY OF LEGISLATION ON ADOPTION

CARL A. HEISTERMAN

INTRODUCTION

THE growing interest in the welfare of the adopted child is indicated to some extent by the fact that during the past decade thirty-nine states have either enacted new legislation or amended repeatedly their laws upon the subject of adoption.¹ Eight of these states—California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Wisconsin—have also legislated with respect to the state licensing and supervision of child-placing agencies and maternity homes, which have a direct bearing upon this subject, because they protect children from the undesirable placements.

The purpose of this article is to analyze somewhat the more important phases of the existing laws on adoption and to point out the protective social features found in these laws in some of the states. When used herein, "recent legislation" or "recent laws" means laws enacted during the years 1925-34, inclusive. The following discussion emphasizes the recent legislation, and also lists all those states which have incorporated into their adoption laws the social features which protect the child involved in the adoption.

A study of the history of American adoption legislation discloses that many of the earlier laws were intended merely to provide a procedure by which the custody of a child could be legally transferred from the natural parent to the adopting parent, the chief object in many states being to enable the adopting parent to make the child his "legal heir." These laws are now being gradually displaced by legislation which, in the light of modern developments for the

¹ Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

care and protection of children, emphasizes the human relationships involved in the adoption. This tendency is, for example, discerned in the more recent legislative expressions designed to guide the judge in making his decision and requiring that, before granting the adoption, he shall be satisfied that the petitioning foster-parent is "of good moral character and of reputable standing in the community and of ability properly to maintain and educate the child sought to be adopted and that the best interests of such child would be promoted by the adoption";² or "able and morally fit to have the care, supervision and training of such child";³ or "able to properly rear and educate the child."⁴ It is of interest to note that a law of Rhode Island adds that the court in these considerations shall have "reference to the degree and condition of its parents."⁵ Georgia directs that the judge shall hear evidence "as to good character, moral fitness, and financial ability of the petitioner to care for the child."⁶

The modern adoption legislation reflects a growing emphasis on the necessity of a better understanding of the child's individual needs, so that he may be adopted into a home where he will be happy and develop properly. This tendency is manifested in the important social aspects of adoption legislation, such as the provisions for a social investigation pending hearing of the case; a trial period of residence of the child in the proposed home; adequate consent to the adoption; restrictions on the parental transfer of the custody of the child; and also for safeguards against undesirable placements for adoption.

SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

One of the most important developments in modern adoption legislation is the provision for an investigation of the propriety of the adoption.⁷ The states variously provide, in substance, that the

² Wisconsin, *Stat.* 1933, sec. 322.05.

³ South Dakota, *Comp. Laws* 1929, sec. 208, as amended by *Laws of* 1927, c. 6.

⁴ Iowa, *Code* 1931, sec. 10501-b5.

⁵ Rhode Island, *Gen. Laws* 1923, c. 288, sec. 5, as amended by *Laws of* 1926, c. 852.

⁶ Georgia, *Laws of* 1927, p. 142.

⁷ During the decade of 1924-34, twelve additional states have provided for an investigation. These are Alabama, California, Delaware, Iowa, Louisiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin.

investigation be made by the state welfare department, a licensed children's agency, or a social worker of the court, or some other competent person. The purpose of the investigation, as reflected by some of the pertinent laws, is to guide the court to make a proper decision in the case, so that the child involved in the adoption may be placed into a suitable home and harmonious relationship with a foster-parent morally fit and financially able to meet the needs of such child. This indicates the necessity of an investigation of the condition and antecedents of the child and of the suitability of the proposed foster-parent and his home; and such items are specified in some of the laws.⁸

In nine of the states the responsibility for the investigation is placed by statute upon the state welfare department;⁹ and the courts must promptly notify the state department when a petition for adoption is filed. Certain important points in the laws of these states are to be noted.

In California the investigation is dispensed with where the adoption is sponsored by a licensed child-placing agency, or in adoption by a step-parent where one natural parent retains his custody of the child.¹⁰ In Louisiana the investigation is not required where the child is in custody of an institution recognized by the state board of charities, or if the court is personally acquainted with the child and the adoptive parent. Massachusetts eliminates the investigation if a charitable child-caring corporation sponsors the adoption. In Minnesota and North Dakota the investigation may be waived by the court for good cause and when it is satisfied that the proposed home and the child are suited to each other.

The extent of the power of the state board beyond the investigation is also of interest. In two states, Alabama and Minnesota, the state department, if it disapproves of the adoption, may ask the court to dismiss the petition. In California the approval of the adop-

⁸ As, e.g., in Alabama, Delaware, Minnesota, and Virginia.

⁹ Alabama, California, Louisiana (or by the court if state board fails to act within ten days), Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island (or the Rhode Island Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children).

¹⁰ But the adoption by a step-parent may not be granted until the county probation officer has made an investigation and a favorable recommendation.

tion is contingent upon the state department's acceptance of the consent of the natural parent to the adoption of the child; but, on refusal of consent, the parent may appeal and the department must then report its findings to the court. In New Mexico the report of the investigation to the court must give reasons why the petition should or should not be granted. In Louisiana, North Dakota, and Rhode Island the state department must make a full report with its recommendation to the court. In Massachusetts the state department must make such written report as will give the court full knowledge as to the desirability of the proposed adoption. Oregon leaves it entirely discretionary with the state child welfare commission to file with the court such information as it may desire to submit.

The following excerpts from the adoption law of Alabama will illustrate the type of legislation for a social investigation by the state:

Upon the filing of a petition for the adoption of a minor child a copy of such petition, together with a statement containing the full names and permanent address of the child and the petitioners, shall be served by the court receiving petition within five days on the State Child Welfare Department of Alabama by registered mail or personal service. It shall then be the duty of the State Child Welfare Department through its own field agents, or through such other agencies and institutions in the county licensed by the department for the care and placement of children, or through the county child welfare superintendent of the county of the court hearing petition, or the probation officer of the juvenile court or court of like jurisdiction of the county, under the department's supervision, to verify the allegations of the petition, to make a thorough investigation of the matter and to report its findings in writing to the court. The report shall show among other things:—(1) Why the natural parents, if living, desire to be relieved of the care, support and guardianship of such child; (2) Whether the natural parents have abandoned such child or are morally unfit to have its custody; (3) Whether the proposed foster parent, or parents, is or are financially able and morally fit to have the care, supervision and training of such child; (4) The physical condition and also the mental condition of such child insofar as this can be determined. Upon the day so appointed the court shall proceed to a full hearing of the petition and the examination of the parties in interest, under oath, with the right of adjourning the hearing and examination from time to time as the nature of the case may require. If the report of the State Child Welfare Department or its duly authorized agents, as provided herein, disapprove of the adoption of the child, motion may be made to the court to dismiss the petition. . . .¹¹

¹¹ *Laws of 1931*, No. 405, p. 504.

In ten states the statutes impose upon the court the duty to have the social investigation made.¹² The noteworthy points in these statutes are those which pertain to the type of persons or agencies to whom the court may assign the investigation, the information to be secured, and the reports to be made to the court.

The state of Arizona requires the court to direct a probation or other officer of the court or an agent of the state, county, or city board of public welfare, or some other discreet and competent person, to make a careful and thorough investigation of the matter and report his findings to the court; and the items to be investigated are specified in the law. Delaware requires the court to direct an agent of the state board of charities, or a person accredited by this board, to make an investigation and report his findings in writing to the court, and for guidance of the investigator the law specifies in considerable detail the information to be secured. In Michigan the judge must direct a full investigation by the county agent or a probation officer of the court, who must make a written report of his findings; and, before granting the adoption, the judge must satisfy himself of the fitness of the adopting parent and the suitability of his home and as to the future welfare of the child. In New York the court must make, or cause to be made, an investigation by "some person or agency" designated by the court sufficient to inform the court as to the desirability of the adoption, and written report of the results must also be made. North Carolina requires the court to instruct the county superintendent of public welfare or a duly authorized representative of a child-placing agency, licensed by the state board of charities and public welfare, to investigate the conditions and antecedents of the child and the suitability of the proposed home, and a written report of the findings must be made to the court. In South Dakota the court must direct a probation officer or other officer of the court or an agent of the state child welfare commission or county child welfare board or some other discreet and competent person to make a thorough investigation and report in writing to the court. In Texas the court must cause an investigation to be made by a suitable person into the former antecedents and

¹² Arizona, Delaware, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

environments of the child and the suitability of the home of the petitioner, and a full written report must be made to the court. In Vermont the court must make an investigation and, state's attorneys, grand jurors, and overseers of the poor and selectmen must, when requested by the judge, give him a written report on the condition and circumstances of the parties to the proposed adoption residing in their jurisdiction. In Virginia the court must direct a "probation officer or other officer of the court, or an agent of the state of county or city board of public welfare, or some other discreet and competent person"¹³ to make the investigation, and the finding must be reported in writing to the court. The items to be covered are prescribed in considerable detail by the Virginia statute. At this point it will be of interest to note the pertinent law of Wisconsin, as illustrative of a type of the more modern legislation requiring a court to order an investigation.

Investigation; probationary residence.—(1) Upon the filing of a petition for the adoption of any minor child the court shall cause an investigation to be made of the former environment and antecedents of the child for the purpose of ascertaining whether he is a proper subject for adoption and of the home of the petitioner to determine whether it is a suitable home for the child. Such investigation shall be made either by the licensed child-welfare agency or county home for dependent children which placed the child in the home of the petitioner or by a probation officer or by some other suitable person designated by the court, or, if the court shall so desire, by the state board of control. The results of such investigation shall be embodied in a full report in writing which shall be submitted to the court at or prior to the hearing upon the petition and which shall be filed with the records of the proceedings and become a part thereof. The report shall contain a statement of facts found in the investigation, and shall show that the investigation included an actual inspection of the proposed home and that a careful personal inquiry was made as to the suitability of the proposed home. Such inquiry shall be made of at least two responsible citizens residing in the same community as the petitioner, and of the pastor of the congregation or parish, if any, to which the petitioner may belong. In case the parental rights of the natural parents of such child shall have been terminated by a juvenile or other court of competent jurisdiction, the report shall contain a summary of such proceedings and shall note any irregularities therein. . . .¹⁴

Under the laws of two more states, Ohio and Pennsylvania, the making of the social investigation is left to the discretion of the

¹³ *Laws of 1922*, c. 484.

¹⁴ *Stat. 1933*, sec. 322.02.

court. In Ohio the court may designate an individual, or an institution or agency approved by the board of state charities, or such board through its agent, to make an appropriate investigation; and in Pennsylvania the judge may make, or cause to be made, an investigation by "some person or agency."¹⁵

In another state, Iowa, the law provides that the court shall investigate the conditions and antecedents of the child and the suitability of the foster-home; but the investigation may be waived by the court upon good cause when satisfied that the proposed home and the child are suited to each other.

The state of Kansas might also be added to the states providing for a social investigation. This state, by an early statute,¹⁶ provides that the court shall investigate the case, and the statute implies that such investigation shall include the matter of proper fitness and financial ability of the prospective parent.

TRIAL PERIOD IN PROSPECTIVE ADOPTIVE HOME

A number of states have recognized the importance of providing methods for determining whether the home of the petitioner and the child are suited to each other; and have provided by statute for a trial period in the prospective adoptive home before a final decree is granted.

The states of Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin require that the child must live in the proposed home for a trial period of six months before the decree for adoption shall be granted, unless the court reduces this period or waives this requirement for good cause shown. In New Mexico and New York, with somewhat similar laws, the trial period may apparently not be entirely waived but may be reduced by the court; and, in the former state, the court must give notice to and hear the state board of public welfare on the application for reduction of the period. Georgia and Wyoming also require a trial period of six months, but in these two states this requirement may apparently not be waived by the court. Altogether thirteen states now provide for a trial residence of six months.¹⁷

¹⁵ 1925 P.L. 128, sec. 3.

¹⁶ Laws 1903, c. 67.

¹⁷ Georgia, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

The following law of Massachusetts will illustrate this type of legislation:

No decree shall be made upon such a petition until such report [of the social investigation] has been received, nor until the child shall have resided for not less than six months in the home of the petitioner; provided, that for good cause shown the court may, in its discretion, waive the requirement of residence.¹⁸

A noteworthy point, also in the Massachusetts law, is that the trial period is made inapplicable to adoptions sponsored or recommended by charitable Massachusetts corporations engaged chiefly in the care of children. In several states—as, for example, in Wisconsin—the period of residence may be waived only “when the court is satisfied that the home of the petitioner and the child are suited to each other.”¹⁹

In six other states²⁰ the trial period is effectuated by a somewhat different method. The adoption laws in these states by suspending the final action of the court provide in effect a trial period of residence. Under the laws of Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, and Virginia, if the adoption is desirable, the court must make an interlocutory order, subject to revocation for cause within one year from date of the order; and during such year the child must live in the home of the petitioner and must be visited at least once in every three months. If not revoked, the adoption becomes effective from the date of the final decree for adoption. The visits must be made by an agent of the state child welfare department, in Alabama; a probation officer, an agent of the state or county or city board of public welfare, or other person designated by the court, in Arizona; the person who has made the preliminary investigation, in Delaware; and by a probation officer, an agent of the state or county or city board of public welfare or other person designated by the court, in Virginia. The new adoption law of North Carolina²¹ provides that the court may tentatively approve the adoption and give the care and custody of the child to the petitioner and may grant the adoption finally within two years but not before one year after the tentative approval, and during such year or years the child must remain

¹⁸ *Gen. Laws 1932* (Ter. ed.), c. 210, sec. 5A.

¹⁹ *Stat. 1933*, sec. 322.02.

²⁰ Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, North Carolina, Vermont, and Virginia.

²¹ *Laws of 1933*, c. 207.

a ward of the court, subject to its supervision. The effect of the adoption is retroactive to the date of application for adoption. Under a law of the state of Vermont, passed in 1923,²² the adoption, which is effectuated by filing with the court and acknowledging before the judge an instrument of adoption, does not become final until one year after the filing of such instrument, during which year the matter of adoption is pending and within the control of the court, subject to annulment for cause shown, although of full force and effect until such annulment takes place.

CONSENT TO ADOPTION

Upon adoption of a child the relationship between the child and his own parents is severed. The state legislatures, therefore, emphasize the equity and necessity of obtaining the consent of the parents to the adoption of their child; and such consent is required by statute in all but two states.²³ In this connection it is interesting to note that the states of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin require also the consent of the parent by adoption in case of a subsequent adoption of an adopted child. The various adoption laws usually require the consent of both parents of a child born in wedlock and of the mother of a child born out of wedlock. Conversely, the parents' consent is usually not required when they are mentally incompetent or are morally unfit to make the proper decision as to the welfare of the child. Those states which prescribe the manner in which parents may relinquish their custody and control of a child to duly licensed child-caring agencies usually also dispense with the consent of the relinquishing parents in a subsequent adoption proceeding. The consent of an agency having the custody of a child is generally required. A majority of the states require the consent of children over specified ages.

During the legislative period of 1925-34, inclusive, at least twenty-six states²⁴ have legislated with respect to consent to the adoption. The greater number of these states have legislated with

²² *Laws of 1923*, No. 60, sec. 7.

²³ Florida and South Carolina.

²⁴ Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

respect to dispensing with the consent of the parents under certain conditions. The following summary-statement of some of the recent legislation will be sufficient to indicate the statutory provisions in point; and no reference is made to any earlier similar legislation.

The laws of a number of states dispense with the consent of a parent who has lost custody through divorce proceedings or the order of the juvenile court. Alabama dispenses with the consent of the parent whose right of custody of the child has been terminated by divorce proceedings or by a juvenile court, and consent in such cases may be given by a guardian or, if there be none, the state child welfare department. In Texas and Wisconsin consent of the parents, whose rights have been terminated by a juvenile court, is not required; and in the latter state this also includes parents whose rights over children born out of wedlock have been so terminated. In Iowa and Washington consent is dispensed with in case of a parent who has been deprived of the custody of the child by judicial procedure.

Several states dispense with the consent of the parent who has abandoned his child or has failed to support it for a certain period. Alabama dispenses with the consent of a parent who has abandoned his child. Michigan, Utah, and Washington dispense with the consent of and judicial notice to a parent who has abandoned his child; and, in this respect, Maine provides that in case of abandonment by one parent the other may consent to the adoption. With respect to parents who have failed to support the child to be adopted, the states have various provisions. In California the mother alone, to whom a court has given custody of her child, may consent to its adoption when the father has failed to support such child for one year, but notice of the pending adoption must be given him. Michigan eliminates consent of a divorced parent who has not contributed to the support of his child for two years last preceding the date of the petition. Ohio eliminates consent of the parent who has failed to support the child for two consecutive years; and the juvenile court must give consent if both parents have so failed.

There are several interesting statutory provisions relating to the consent of parents. The state of California requires that, unless a licensed child-placing agency is a party to the adoption, or a child

is adopted by a step-parent, the natural parent retaining custody, consent to adoption must be signed in presence of an agent of the state department of social welfare; and the department's consent must be obtained in cases where no other consent is required and no such agency is a party in the case. Wisconsin requires the consent of the state board of control or a licensed child welfare agency in cases where, as previously noted, parental rights, including the rights over children born out of wedlock, have been terminated by a juvenile court. The states of Iowa and Utah do not require the consent of a parent who has properly and lawfully released his child to a licensed child-placing agency. Rhode Island and Wyoming provide that, if the parents do not consent in writing to the adoption of their child, the court must give them notice, by publication, of the pendency of the petition for adoption. New York, which requires appearance of the parents at the hearing, provides that parents who have filed their duly acknowledged and certified consent to the adoption need not appear at the hearing.

In this connection the more specific requirements for consent by public and private child welfare agencies will be of interest. In Iowa, Rhode Island, and South Carolina the state board or agency to which a child has been committed may also consent to the adoption of such child. In Oklahoma consent to adoption may be given by the county board of supervisors or superintendent of a county home in case of a child committed to such home by a juvenile court. Georgia and Iowa permit child-caring agencies which have lawfully obtained custody of the child to consent to its adoption. Connecticut, Kansas, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Utah make similar provisions; and Colorado authorizes child-caring institutions to consent to adoption of children under their care.

The child to be adopted is an important party to the adoption; and, therefore, consent of the child to his adoption is required by statute in all but eight of the states.²⁵

In the states of Michigan and North Dakota the consent of the child to his adoption is required if he is ten years of age. Such consent is required at twelve years in California, Idaho, Missouri, Mon-

²⁵ These eight states are Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Nevada, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Vermont.

tana, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Utah; thirteen years in Ohio; and fourteen years in Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. In Louisiana the age in question is fixed at seventeen years; and in Kansas and Wyoming the consent of the child is required, but no minimum age is fixed. Indiana, in recently authorizing by statute²⁶ the adoption of the child of a surviving parent by a stepfather or a stepmother, provides that after such child reaches the age of sixteen years it must also file written consent to the adoption. Another state, Maryland, imposes a unique proviso to the effect that the decree for adoption may be granted if the child, "if of sufficient intelligence and capacity to give an understanding," shall so desire.

It is of interest to note that in the twenty-three states providing for a social investigation Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin make the consent of the child necessary if he is fourteen years old; Ohio if he is thirteen years old; California, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota if he is twelve years old; Michigan and North Dakota if he is ten years old; and North Carolina and Vermont do not require the child's consent. Wisconsin requires also that the consent of the child must be given in writing in the presence of the court. (For Kansas and Louisiana see the preceding paragraph.)

RESTRICTION UPON PARENTAL TRANSFER OF CUSTODY

There are a number of states in which the legislatures have realized the importance of protecting the child from indiscriminate placing by its parents. These states, accordingly, prohibit the transfer of parental custody of children under certain ages without order of a court or the consent of the state welfare department, or unless the transfer is made to a licensed children's agency in the manner prescribed by the statute.²⁷

²⁶ *Laws of 1933*, c. 224.

²⁷ The states and the ages under which transfers are restricted are: Alabama (16), California ("a child"), Indiana (3), Iowa (14), Massachusetts ("a child"), Michigan

In the states of Alabama, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Washington no person may transfer his custody of a child to another unless authorized or required so to do by a court. Custody may, however, be transferred without court action in Alabama to the state child welfare department or to licensed agencies or institutions, in Iowa to an agency licensed by the state board of control, in Rhode Island to a duly licensed children's agency, and in Washington to an agency incorporated for the purpose of caring for or placing children.

In California the custody of the child may be relinquished by a writing, acknowledged before the secretary of a licensed child-placing agency, but the relinquishment is not effective until a certified copy of the writing is filed with the state department of social welfare. The following statutory provisions will now be of interest:

North Dakota: No person, partnership, voluntary association or corporation, other than the parents or relatives of a child, may assume the permanent care and custody of a child under the age of eighteen years unless authorized so to do by an order or decree of a district court having jurisdiction. No parent shall assign, or otherwise transfer his rights or duties with respect to the care and custody of his child under eighteen years of age, and any such transfer or assignment, written or otherwise, hereafter made shall be void: *Provided*, That this section shall not affect the right of the parent to consent in writing to the legal adoption of his child, but such written consent shall not operate to transfer any right in the child in the absence of a decree by the district court.²⁸

Iowa: No person may assign, relinquish, or otherwise transfer to another his rights, or duties with respect to the permanent care or custody of a child under fourteen years of age unless specifically authorized or required so to do by an order or decree of court, or unless the parent or parents sign a written release attested by two witnesses, of the permanent care and custody of the child to an agency licensed by the board of control.²⁹

Ohio: No child under two years of age shall be given into the temporary or permanent custody of any person, association or institution which is not certified by the division of charities, department of public welfare, as provided in sections 1351-1 and 1352-6 of the General Code, without the written consent of the division of charities or by a commitment of a juvenile court: *Provided*, Such child may be placed temporarily without such written consent or court com-

(17), Minnesota (14), Missouri ("a child"), Nebraska (2), New Jersey ("any minor child"), New York (16), North Dakota (18), Ohio (2), Rhode Island (16), and Washington (14).

²⁸ *Laws of 1919*, c. 77, as amended by *Laws of 1923*, c. 152, sec. 1.

²⁹ *Code 1931*, sec. 3661-a83.

mitment with persons related by blood or marriage, or in a legally licensed boarding home which is not established for the purpose of placing children in free foster homes or for legal adoption. . . .³⁰

An earlier type of law, in Michigan, provides that no child under the age of seventeen years may be placed in any home without the written approval of such home by the county agent of the state welfare department being filed with the probate judge. The state of New York provides in detail for the written transfer of the custody of a destitute or dependent child under the age of sixteen years to "an authorized agency";³¹ and the written transfer must be recorded in the office of the county clerk, the record being subject to inspection by the state board of social welfare.

In another state, Massachusetts, the department of public welfare may investigate the case where a person receives a child under two years of age for adoption or for giving it a home, and may take such child into custody if necessary for his protection. And, in New Jersey, the parent or custodian of a child is subject to punishment if he fails to secure the written consent of the state commissioner of the department of institutions and agencies before offering through the press to surrender such child for adoption.

Another type of legislation, which prevents the separation of a child of tender years from its mother, may also be of interest: In Maryland a child under six months of age may not be separated from its mother for placement in a foster-home or institution except on court order or with the consent of the state board of charities or on the signed recommendation of two physicians qualified to practice in the state.³² In North Carolina the mother may not surrender her infant of this age except with the written consent of specified public authorities.³³ In South Carolina a report of such removal must be made to the child-placing bureau of the state board of public welfare "unless the person removing said child . . . knows . . . that said child was born in wedlock, and was not removed from its mother because of immoral surroundings."³⁴

In those states which lack statutory control of transfer of parental

³⁰ *Page's Gen. Code 1926*, sec. 1352-13.

³¹ *Laws of 1930*, c. 590.

³² *Annot. Code 1924*, art. 27, sec. 535.

³³ *Consolidated Stat. 1919*, sec. 4445.

³⁴ *Laws 1930*, No. 283.

custody, the parent may apparently relinquish indiscriminately the custody of his child to any individual or institution—a most unfortunate practice.

THE EFFECT OF ADOPTION

The adoption of a child creates certain reciprocal rights and duties between the child and the adoptive parent. In this connection many states provide by statute that the mutual relationship between the foster-parent and the adopted child shall be the same as between the natural parent and his child; and some states clearly define the general status of the adopted child. The state of Iowa, for example, provides in its law that "the rights, duties and relationships between the child and parents by adoption shall be the same that exists between parents and child by lawful birth."³⁵ The recent law of Alabama is to the same effect; that of Texas also fully defines these rights; and similar statutory provisions may be observed in a number of states. Upon adoption of a child its natural parents are usually deprived by law of all their legal rights respecting such child. It is to be noted, however, that in a case where a step-parent has adopted the child, the reciprocal rights and duties between the child and the natural parent (husband and wife) would remain unchanged. Oregon, for example, has recently made specific exception in case of a parent who is the husband or wife of the person adopting the child.

Most of the states also define the rights of inheritance created by the process of adoption; and these rights vary considerably among the states. To illustrate this: In the recent legislation Iowa provides that the right of inheritance between the child and the adoptive parent "shall be the same as between parent and children born in lawful wedlock,"³⁶ and Alabama and Wisconsin have a similar provision. California and Florida provide for reciprocal inheritance between the adopted child and the adopting parent; but the former state specifically excludes such inheritance between such child and its natural parents, whereas the latter state permits the child to inherit from such parents but they may not inherit from the child. Colorado, in which the adopted child becomes the "legal heir" of the adopted parent, enables the adoptive family to inherit from the

³⁵ Iowa, Code 1931, sec. 10501-b6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

adopted child in case such child leave no surviving heirs. New York enables one adopted child of a foster-parent to inherit from another adopted child of such parent. Washington provides that the adopted child may inherit real property of the adoptive parent to the same extent as the latter's natural children.

ANNULMENT OF ADOPTION

The laws of certain states³⁷ also show a tendency to protect the child, as well as the adopting parent, from undesirable conditions arising after the adoption. These laws provide for the annulment of the decree of adoption in case the adopting parent has violated his agreement for proper care and treatment of the child, as, for example in Kentucky and New Mexico, or in case the child has within a stated period developed certain defects. In respect to the latter, Iowa in 1927, Wisconsin in 1929, Alabama in 1931, and Louisiana in 1932 have followed the earlier law of Minnesota in providing for such annulment in case the adopted child develops feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy, or venereal disease from conditions existing prior to the adoption and then unknown to the adopted parent. In Nevada the adoption may be revoked if such action will promote the welfare of the child; and the law in Delaware is to the same effect. In Texas the court may change the custody of the adopted child to its natural parents, or other person, on proof of bad character of the adoptive parent or his neglect of the child. In a few states—Oregon and Rhode Island, for example—the natural parents and the child are protected against untrue statements made by the foster-parent in the initial procedure for adoption, and the courts in these states may reverse the decree if the parents had no notice of the proceedings and can show that any of the material allegations in the petition were untrue. In New York the order of adoption may be set aside for fraud or other sufficient cause. In the absence of any statute on this point the court which granted the adoption presumably has inherent power to set aside the decree of adoption where such decree was obtained through pertinent untrue statements or through fraud. In New York the adoption may also be abrogated if the judge is satisfied that such action is for the best interests of the child adopted,

³⁷ Alabama, Kentucky, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

or that the foster-parent has violated his duties toward the child, or if the child has wilfully deserted such parent. The law of North Carolina contains general authorization for annulment of the adoption for good cause, this being limited to within two years after date of order for adoption. The state of Kentucky also permits annulment of the adoption, after the child is seventeen years of age, if by his disobedience he has destroyed the peace and happiness of his foster-parents.

It would seem that the states would more generally require the intervention of the state board of public welfare in cases of annulment of adoption, so that the interests of the child would be protected during the court action and proper care provided for him after the adoption has been annulled. At least one state, Wisconsin, has recognized this protective feature by requiring that the state board of control be made a party to the proceedings in any action in which the validity of an adoption is questioned and the court must serve notice of the action upon the board. It is noteworthy that in Iowa and Minnesota the interests of the child, in annulment cases, are to be represented by the county attorney. In Virginia the state board of public welfare may at any time petition for vacation of adoption and restoration of the former name.

INTERSTATE ADOPTION

In a number of states the adoption law clearly indicates that the person adopting must be a resident of the state³⁸ or of the county³⁹ in which adoption occurs. Some of these states, for example, permit "any adult person" to adopt a child, but also provide that proceedings must be had before the judge of the court of the county where the person adopting resides,⁴⁰ thus apparently not permitting a nonresident person to adopt a child.

In the preceding summary it is shown that nineteen of the states

³⁸ As in Colorado, Courtright (ed.), *Mills' Annot. Stat.* 1930, sec. 635, as amended by *Laws* 1931, c. 51; Illinois, *Smith-Hurd's Rev. Stat.* 1933, c. 4, sec. 11; North Carolina, *Laws* 1933, c. 207; and Texas, *Laws of* 1931, c. 177.

³⁹ As in California, *Deering's Civil Code* 1923, sec. 226, as amended by *Laws* 1931, c. 1130.

⁴⁰ As in Montana, *Rev. Code* 1921, secs. 5856, 5861, as amended by *Laws* 1931, c. 177; in Nebraska, *Comp. Stat.* 1929, secs. 43-101 and 43-105; and in Rhode Island, *Gen. Laws* 1923, c. 288, sec. 1, as amended by *Laws* 1930, c. 1573.

require by statute a trial period of residence in the proposed home before the decree for adoption is granted; and that twenty-three states⁴¹ require by statute a social investigation into the condition and antecedents of the child and the suitability of the foster-home before the court may make its final decision. In this connection it is to be noted that it may become difficult to administer these statutory requirements in cases where the foster-parent is a nonresident.⁴² A nonresident, however, who has submitted to the jurisdiction of the court where the child resides is presumably subject to all requirements prescribed by the adoption law of the state of such child's residence. The court might also refuse to grant the adoption until after the prescribed trial period of residence, and until the nonresident petitioner has submitted to the social investigation.

Certain states have provided specifically for cases in which a nonresident is seeking to adopt a child. Maine and Massachusetts provide that a nonresident person may present a petition for adoption of a child in the probate court of the county where such child resides, and New Hampshire has recently made a similar provision. New York requires the appearance and examination of the foster-parents, the child to be adopted, and, with certain exceptions, the persons whose consent to the adoption is necessary in the court of the county where the foster-parents reside, "or if the foster-parents or parent do not reside in this State, in the county where the minor resides," or, in case the child is adopted from an institution, in the county where such institution is located. Oregon provides for the filing of the petition "in the county where the petitioner resides, if a resident of Oregon, or in the county where the parent or guardian resides," or, if the child is adopted from an institution, in the county where such institution is located. In Vermont a nonresident seeking to adopt a child must file "an instrument of adoption" in the probate court of the district where the child resides.⁴³

⁴¹ This includes all but Georgia and Wyoming of the nineteen states having a trial period.

⁴² In California, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Texas, nonresidents may apparently not adopt a resident child.

⁴³ Maine, *Rev. Stat. 1930*, c. 80, sec. 35; Massachusetts, *Gen. Laws 1932* (Ter. ed.), c. 210, sec. 1; New Hampshire, *Public Laws 1926*, c. 292, sec. 1, as amended by *Laws of*

In the adoption laws of certain other states there are no provisions with reference to nonresident adopting parents. These states provide variously that a child may be adopted by "any person," "any adult person," or "any reputable person," and impose no residential or jurisdictional restriction which would exclude a nonresident person from coming into the state and filing his petition for adoption.⁴⁴

Some of the states in which interstate adoption may take place also provide for a verification of the allegations in the petition for adoption, as well as for a social investigation of the child's condition and antecedents and of the suitability of the foster-parent and home, so as to aid the court in making a proper decision.⁴⁵ While in this connection these states do not specifically refer to nonresident adopting persons, such persons, having submitted to the jurisdiction of the court, would be subject to the social investigation.

REPORTS OF ACTION OF COURT IN ADOPTION CASES TO STATE DEPARTMENT

The requirement for prompt reports from the courts to the state welfare department is of more recent origin in adoption legislation. The courts generally do not keep separate records of cases of adoption, and it is therefore difficult to obtain readily any reliable statistics as to the number of children adopted or any information helpful in case a later social investigation becomes necessary. Some of the states have recently met this need by requiring that copies of the complete record of the adoption or of the decree be sent to the designated state or county agency. Minnesota has amended its law to

1929, c. 107; New York, *Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930: Domestic Relations Law*, secs. 112, 115; Oregon, *Code (Ann.) 1930*, sec. 33-401; Vermont, *Public Laws 1933*, secs. 3321, 3323.

⁴⁴ Arizona, *Rev. Code 1928*, sec. 118; Arkansas, *Crawford and Moses Digest 1921*; sec. 252; Idaho, *Code 1932*, sec. 31-1101; Indiana, *Baldwin's Annot. Stat. 1934*, sec. 681, Iowa, *Code 1931*, sec. 10501-b1; Nevada, *Comp. Laws 1929*, sec. 9475; New Jersey, *Comp. Stat. 1910*, p. 2807, sec. 13; North Carolina, *Annot. Code 1931*, sec. 182; Ohio, *Throckmorton's Annot. Code 1934*, sec. 10512-9; Wyoming, *Rev. Stat. 1931*, sec. 20-201.

⁴⁵ Arizona, *Rev. Code 1928*, secs. 121-22, as amended by *Laws of 1933*, c. 57; Iowa, *Code 1931*, sec. 10501-b2; Massachusetts, *Gen. Laws 1932* (Ter. ed.), c. 215, sec. 56a; New York, *Cahill's Consolidated Laws 1930: Domestic Relations Law*, secs. 112, 113, as amended by *Laws 1934*, c. 368; Ohio, *Throckmorton's Annot. Code 1934*, sec. 10512-10; Oregon, *Oreg. Code (Annot.) 1930*, sec. 33-401; Vermont, *Public Laws 1933*, sec. 3330.

require the court to mail a copy of the recorded decree to the state board of control; and Iowa requires the court to make a complete record of its findings and to send a copy thereof to the board of control of state institutions. Alabama requires the court to notify the state child welfare department after the final order of adoption is made. North Carolina requires the court to send a copy of the order for adoption, and also of any revocation, to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. In Delaware the court must notify the state board of charities of the action taken, and all papers in the proceeding must be placed in the custody of this board.

CHANGE OF RECORDS IN VITAL STATISTICS

Another important recent development in adoption legislation is the requirement for notification by the courts to the state registrar of vital statistics. In Alabama copies of the reports and order of adoption must be sent to the state registrar of vital statistics. In Delaware, if the name of the child is changed, the court must promptly advise the state registrar of vital statistics. California requires that upon final decree of adoption a certificate thereof must be filed by the court with the state registrar of vital statistics, and a new certificate of birth must be issued under the child's adopted name. In Michigan a record of the adoption, showing the name of the child and the foster-parents and the date of the child's birth, must be filed with the state department of health, and certified copies of such record must be issued upon request. In Wisconsin the court must, after the order for adoption is made, promptly report to the state registrar of vital statistics certain information on the child, its natural parents, and its parents by adoption, and this data must be added to the child's birth certificate. In North Carolina the court must immediately report to the state bureau of vital statistics whenever the name of the child is changed to that of his foster-parents, the change must be made on the child's birth certificate, and the certificate issued under the new name. In Illinois a certificate, bearing the new name of the adopted child, may be filed with the department of registration of births, and a corrected certificate must be furnished on request; and in Massachusetts the town clerk must similarly

correct birth certificates, to include also pertinent facts as to the adopting parents, and furnish a copy to the state secretary. Georgia also requires that a copy of the decree must be filed with the state registrar of vital statistics. In Pennsylvania, when a request is made for a birth certificate of an adopted person, and a copy of the decree of adoption is filed with the request, the state registrar must issue a birth certificate under the adopted name.

PRIVACY OF ADOPTION RECORDS

The personal nature of the adoption proceedings makes it desirable to have the relevant adoption records, such as the records of the investigation and the testimony in the case, kept confidential. This need has been recognized by some of the states in the more recent adoption laws. It is interesting to note that the Wisconsin children's code, which makes these records confidential, states that "curious and unscrupulous persons formerly might secure and disclose much information with regard to illegitimacy and other circumstances connected with adoption matters."⁴⁶ In Arizona the adoption records are open to inspection only to parties in interest and their attorneys and to representatives of public welfare agencies, and to others only when permitted by the court. California has provided that the adoption papers and records "shall not be open to inspection by any other than the parties to the action and their attorneys and the state department of social welfare except upon the written authority of the judge of the superior court," and the laws of Alabama, and also Wisconsin, are to the same effect. This provision is similar to those contained in the earlier laws of Minnesota and North Dakota. In Delaware the adoption papers, placed in the custody of the state board of charities, may be inspected only upon order of the orphan's court. Pennsylvania specifies that the record of the decree shall be open to the public, but follows New York in providing that all other relevant papers, including the testimony, may in the court's discretion be withheld from inspection; and the new laws of Louisiana and Texas contain similar provisions.

⁴⁶ *The Children's Code of Wisconsin* (p. 72), published by the Children's Code Committee of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work (a reprint of c. 439 of *Laws of 1929*).

In this connection another important restriction has been recently added to the adoption laws in some of the states. The state of Illinois protects the child born out of wedlock by prohibiting in the petition or decree for adoption of such child any terminology which would indicate the fact of illegitimacy. Massachusetts provides that illegitimacy shall in no case be expressly averred upon the record. Similar statutory provisions may be observed in the laws of New York and Pennsylvania.

JURISDICTION OVER ADOPTION PROCEEDINGS

The question as to whether juvenile and domestic-relations courts, specially equipped to handle the problems of children, or some other court shall be given jurisdiction of adoption proceedings is one which deserves careful consideration in adoption legislation. In principle the juvenile court should have the proper facilities for a social investigation, and a judge with the social viewpoint so necessary to insure the future welfare of the child in case of his adoption.

In a few states, or in parts of such states, jurisdiction has been given to juvenile courts or to domestic-relations courts.⁴⁷ This jurisdiction, with its modification, will now be noted. In Missouri exclusive jurisdiction in adoption is given to the juvenile courts, and this is of state-wide application. In Colorado exclusive jurisdiction in adoption is given to the juvenile court in Denver; and, in Oregon, such jurisdiction is given to the domestic-relations court in Multnomah County. Jurisdiction of adoption cases is given, but concurrently with other courts, to children's courts in South Carolina in counties with a population of from 85,000 to 100,000; the juvenile court in Tennessee but only in Union County; and the domestic-relations court in West Virginia in Cabell County.⁴⁸ In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, all domestic-relations cases must be assigned by the cir-

⁴⁷ Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, New York, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

⁴⁸ Two other states might be added: In Iowa, jurisdiction in adoption is vested with "any court of record of the county," and since juvenile courts in that state are also courts of record, they may assume such jurisdiction. An Oklahoma statute authorizes the establishment of family courts (apparently not yet established) in Oklahoma and Tulsa counties and gives them adoption jurisdiction concurrent with county court.

cuit court to one of its two "family-court" branches; and the juvenile court is a part of one of these two courts.

In Arizona and Washington the juvenile court may grant the adoption of children who have been brought before it as dependent or delinquent. In New York, in the counties and also in the city of New York, the children's courts may grant the adoption of children who are before the court as delinquent, neglected, or if held as a material witness. Another state, North Carolina, requires by statute that the domestic-relations courts in Forsyth and Mecklenburg counties make preliminary investigation in cases of adoption and make recommendation thereon to the superior court, which has jurisdiction.

A number of states vest adoption jurisdiction in non-socialized courts of general jurisdiction. If the particular state requires an adequate social investigation in adoption cases, the child's needs may be met even though the adoption is adjudicated in a court of general jurisdiction or granted by a judge with little experience in handling juvenile cases.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST UNDESIRABLE PLACEMENTS FOR ADOPTION

An important development relating to adoption is the protection of children from undesirable placements for adoption. This is especially reflected in the statutory requirements for the licensing or supervision of child-placing agencies and maternity homes now found in the majority of the states. It is reasonable to require that, where a child welfare institution *in loco parentis* is authorized to consent to the adoption, it must also be duly licensed and otherwise responsible.

One of the most important safeguards which will prevent children from being placed wrongly is that one under which no person may place or accept a child unless licensed as a child-placing agency.⁴⁹ The state of California, for example, provides in substance that no child may be placed for adoption or otherwise unless the person,

⁴⁹ Statutory safeguards of this type may be observed in a number of states, as, e.g., in California, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin.

association, and corporation is licensed as a child-placing agency; and Wisconsin provides that no child may be placed for adoption or otherwise except with a licensed child welfare agency. A reference to the specific statutory provisions on this point in these two states will serve to illustrate such safeguards.

California: No person, association, or corporation shall without first having obtained a license or permit therefor, in writing, from the State department of [social] welfare, or from an inspection service approved or accredited by such State department of [social] welfare; . . . 3. Engage in the finding of homes for children under sixteen years of age or place any such child in any home or other place, either for temporary or permanent care or for adoption.⁵⁰

Wisconsin: No person, other than the parent or legal guardian, and no firm, association or corporation, and no private institution shall place any child in the control and care of any person, with or without contract or agreement, or place such child for adoption, other than a licensed child welfare agency. . . .⁵¹

With respect to maternity homes, at least three states, North Dakota, Virginia, and Wyoming, have specifically prohibited child-placing by maternity homes. Such child-placing is also prohibited in Alabama, unless the home is licensed for child-placing by the child welfare department; in Colorado, except through the agency and with the consent of the board of control of the State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children; in New York, except, in case of an incorporated home, when placing is authorized by its charter, act, or certificate of incorporation; and in Oregon, unless on application to, examination by, and certificate of approval of the child welfare commission. Tennessee imposes the same conditions as Oregon, but the enforcing authority is the state department of institutions.

Several states have passed laws designed to avoid collusive practices between maternity homes and the expectant mother or others with respect to the disposal of children and to prevent the unwarranted separation of a child from its mother. These laws prohibit maternity homes from advertising for the adoption or placing of children. In this respect the law of North Dakota, for example, provides as follows:

⁵⁰ *Deering's Political Code 1931*, sec. 2337.

⁵¹ *Stat. 1933*, sec. 48.37.

. . . . No licensee as an inducement to a woman to go to any maternity hospital for confinement care shall in any way offer to dispose of any child, or advertise that he will give children for adoption or hold himself out, directly or indirectly, as being able to dispose of children.⁵²

Similar prohibitions of such advertising may be observed in the legislation of nine other states (Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin). In Alabama a similar provision applies only to unlicensed hospitals. In this connection a law in New Hampshire prohibits maternity homes from soliciting patronage and from advertising other than the name of the home.

UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

⁵² *Comp. Laws, Supp. 1925*, sec. 5099a10.

WORK RELIEF AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION: SELECTED COURT DECISIONS. II¹

THE question, whether under our workmen's compensation laws the unemployed man who is fortunate enough to get work-relief assignment and then so unfortunate as to be killed or injured in a work accident while earning his relief wages is eligible for a workmen's compensation award, continues to be an unsettled question. In the case of the Cook County (Chicago) Forest Preserve District, where such an accident occurred, a decision favorable to the injured workman was handed down from the Illinois Supreme Court. Similarly favorable decisions have come from the Washington and the Minnesota Supreme Courts. These three decisions are all reprinted below.

If, as is proposed in a number of bills which have been before state legislatures this year, the amount of the benefit is a percentage of weekly work-relief wages which are far less than he normally earned, a grave injustice will be done the injured workman and his family. In New Jersey the legislature¹ declared in 1933 work relief to be "casual employment" and therefore not included under the workmen's compensation law. In New York the legislature last year specifically excluded persons on work-relief from the benefits of workmen's compensation legislation in that state but enacted another law which provides special and on the whole lower benefits for relief workers. Under this New York law persons on work-relief projects who are killed or suffer a permanent disability as a result of a work accident are eligible for benefits including family relief, medical services, and a cash allowance of \$3,500 exclusive of funeral benefits. But this compensation is payable from relief appropriations.

The California legislature made statutory provision that "work might be created and required of an able-bodied indigent as a con-

¹ These decisions continue the discussion of this important question. See this *Review*, VIII (1934), 695-706, "Work Relief" before the Courts: Selected Court Decisions," and see *ibid.*, pp. 211-25, for the article "Some Workmen's Compensation Problems of Persons on Work Relief," by E. Glenn Callen.

dition of relief"; and amended the California Workmen's Compensation Law by adding a provision excluding from workmen's compensation benefits any person working "in return for aid or sustenance only, received from any religious charitable or relief organization"; and a recent (December, 1934) California opinion on this amendment is also given below.

For the first time, some Industrial Board and Commission decisions on work relief and workmen's compensation are also reprinted here. In general, compensation commissions are more interested in safeguarding the rights of the worker than are the courts, and might be expected to give the benefit of the doubt to the injured workman or his family.

I. ILLINOIS UPHOLDS WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION
FOR WORK RELIEF²

In this case proceedings under the Workmen's Compensation Act had been begun by August Putkonen, opposed by the Forest Preserve District of Cook County. An award of compensation by the Industrial Commission was sustained by the Circuit Court, and the Forest Preserve District brings error.

The opinion of the Court was as follows:

August Putkonen in 1932 was out of employment. He had been a sheet-metal worker and had a small shop at his home in Cook County where he repaired fenders and radiators from time to time. He had received aid from the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, and when direct relief was supplanted by work-relief he received a card or letter and was sent to the plaintiff in error, the Forest Preserve District of Cook County, where he worked, among other times, from June 30 to July 7, 1932. He got \$5 per day and was limited to six days' work a month. He claimed that he cut his right hand slightly with a broken bottle when loading trash and debris into a truck in Harms Woods, in the Forest Preserve District, on the last day he worked. From this blood poisoning developed. The testimony shows a permanent injury to at least three of the fingers of his right hand, some ankylosis of the joints of the fingers, impaired and limited motion in attempting to flex them, the presence of indurated or scar tissue in the palm of the hand, and adhesions between the tendons in the palm leading to the fingers and the sheath inclosing such tendons. Putkonen had six children, four of whom are under sixteen years of age. The arbitrator made an award in his favor by which the loss of use of his right hand was fixed at 50 per

² *Forest Preserve District of Cook County v. Industrial Commission et al.*, 192 North Eastern Reporter 342 (Supreme Court of Illinois, June 19, 1934. Rehearing denied Oct. 5, 1934).

cent. This award found the temporary total disability lasted for a period of six weeks, and that the average weekly wages which furnished the measure of compensation were such that this weekly payment of compensation should be \$14 per week for the six weeks' temporary total disability period and an additional eighty-five weeks on account of the permanent loss of use of the hand. On review the Industrial Commission confirmed that part of the award involving the \$14 per week for six weeks but found the permanent loss of use of the right hand was 25 per cent. For this it ordered payment of \$14 per week for forty-two and one-half weeks. The Circuit Court of Cook County sustained this latter award, and the cause is here by writ of error.

Plaintiff in error contends that the record fails to show: First, that it is engaged in any department of an enterprise or business which is declared to be extrahazardous under Section 3 of the Workmen's Compensation Act; second, that it fails to show an existing relation of employer and employee, within the meaning of Sections 4 and 5 of the act, between it and Putkonen; and, third, that the manifest weight of the evidence is that Putkonen did not sustain an injury while working at the Forest Preserve District.

Putkonen worked with two or three other men under a foreman named William Tessien. Tessien testified that his truck was equipped with axes, picks, and other tools for use in the work to be done and that he told the men what they were to do. George H. Smith testified that he had been division superintendent of the park district for three years. It had about thirty regular employees scattered throughout the district, and maintenance was its principal activity. He had complete charge of the upkeep and laying out of any improvements, making way for the picnic people, and anything in connection with the public welfare in that division. He said further: "We have those men scattered over seven thousand acres of ground, and we are doing planting, transplanting, cleaning up debris, cleaning walks, repairing buildings, etc." The foreman, Tessien, testified that when the cans containing waste and trash were too heavy they were emptied on the ground and their contents were loaded into the truck which he drove, and Albert Fink, who also testified for the Forest Preserve District, admitted that their crew hauled one load of refuse on July 7, 1932. . . .

The business or enterprise in which plaintiff in error was embarked was the maintenance of a forest preserve district for the public. The record shows that its main work was maintenance—removing debris, transplanting trees and shrubs, etc. Putkonen's foreman testified that the truck was equipped with axes, picks, and other tools. Such sharp-edged tools are required and were used in the work of plaintiff in error, and clearly their use brings the district within the provisions of Subsection 7½ of Section 3 of the Act above quoted. . . .

On the question as to whether or not the relation of employer and employee was established by this record, it appears that the relief organization sent men furnished with credentials to the plaintiff in error to work. It paid them out of its own funds, took their receipts, called "identis," presented these receipts next day to the relief organization and was reimbursed. The foreman, Tessien, testi-

fied that he directed the men who worked under him, and Arthur Estes, a timekeeper for plaintiff in error, testified that he refused on August 5, 1932, to permit Putkonen to go to work because of the condition of his injured right hand. The foremen were instructed to report immediately an injury to any of the men working for plaintiff in error. Estes, the timekeeper, kept a record of all injuries. He testified that he discussed all injury cases with the division superintendent. This was done by Smith and Estes on August 5, 1932, when Putkonen was refused work and received a letter from plaintiff in error and was sent to the County Hospital.

The case presents a situation similar to that where an employee is injured while working for a second employer to whom he has been loaned temporarily. Under the common law an employee in the general employment of one master may with his consent be loaned to another and become the employee of the master to whom he is loaned (*Allen Garcia Co. v. Industrial Comm.*, 334 Ill. 390, 166 N. E. 78). The existence of the Workmen's Compensation Act does not change this rule and the test remains the same—that is, whether or not the employee becomes wholly subject to the control and direction of the second employer, and freed, during the temporary period, from the control of his original master. Under this rule it is immaterial that the plaintiff in error did not fix the wages and did not select Putkonen as an employee. The record shows it had complete control of his services and that it refused to permit him to go to work on August 5, 1932. The power to refuse to accept him implies the power to dismiss him, if for any reason the plaintiff in error had seen fit to do so. The relation of employer and employee is established by such a showing as is here presented (see *McLaughlin v. Antrim County Road Comm.*, 266 Mich. 73, 253 N. W. 221).

There remains only the question as to whether the decision that the injury arose out of and in the course of Putkonen's employment is against the manifest weight of the evidence. Putkonen's testimony is contradicted on some points, but there is sufficient corroborative testimony to establish the fact that, in addition to sand and other materials, Tessien's crew and truck hauled at least one load of refuse July 7. It is also shown that where the cans were heavy they were emptied onto the ground and their contents were then loaded onto the trucks. Putkonen came back to the office of the plaintiff in error with Fink, a witness for it, about ten days after his injury and returned on August 5, 1932, to go to work. He insists that he reported his injury to Estes, and that the latter telephoned to Smith, the division superintendent, on the occasion of the visit of Fink and Putkonen to the office. Estes and Smith had a conversation about Putkonen's injured hand on August 5, 1932, and sent him to the hospital with a letter from the Forest Preserve District. Putkonen certainly was not there as a malingerer but wanted to go to work and was refused, as we have already pointed out. There is contradictory testimony in this record on many minor matters, but we do not consider that the whole record presents a case where the defendant in error has failed to establish his case by a preponderance of the evidence or

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that we would be justified in setting aside the decision of the arbitrator, the commission and the Circuit Court and in substituting our judgment for theirs. For the reasons indicated the judgment of the Circuit Court is affirmed.

II. STATE OF WASHINGTON UPHOLDS WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR WORK RELIEF³

A recent opinion of the Washington Supreme Court is interesting, among other reasons, because of the citation of English precedent. The English case referred to goes back to the earlier period of work relief for unemployment under the old Central Unemployed Body for London in 1907-8. It is interesting that the English courts looked more favorably upon the status of the injured unemployed workman than our American state courts have done. The decision follows:

On November 25, 1932, and for several days prior thereto, plaintiff was engaged in working on public roads in commissioner's District No. 3 of Skagit County. He was hired by the commissioner who had charge of road work in that district, and was under the immediate direction of a foreman employed by the county. He was paid from moneys in the indigent relief fund, which had been augmented that year by the issuance by Skagit County of its general obligation bonds in the amount of \$100,000. It seems that plaintiff was paid by some sort of a voucher, which was redeemable in warrants drawn against and paid out of this fund.

On the date mentioned, in the course of his work, he sustained injuries. There is no question but that the work was extrahazardous, under the classification of extrahazardous employments contained in Section 7676(a), Rem. Rev. Stat. Neither is there any question that the county is an employer, in contemplation of the Workmen's Compensation Act, when it engages in extrahazardous work (Rem. Rev. Stat. §7692). It would seem clear that, under the plain terms of the act and the facts stated, the plaintiff would be entitled to compensation. The department, however, held that plaintiff was not an employee, in contemplation of the act, and dismissed his claim. The joint board affirmed the ruling of the department. Plaintiff appealed to the Superior Court, which reversed the ruling of the department and held that plaintiff was entitled to compensation under the act. The department appeals.

It is appellant's contention that, since the work respondent was doing was "made work," "emergency relief work," "charity work," the relationship of employer and employee did not exist between him and the county. The almost unanimous weight of authority in the United States supports this view.⁴ . . .

³ *Garney v. Department of Labor and Industries*, 41 Pacific Reporter (2d) 400 (Supreme Court of Washington, February 26, 1935).

⁴ The Court cited various opinions already reviewed in this Review. See especially the December, 1934, number for the case of *Los Angeles v. Industrial Accident Commission of California* and *West Milwaukee v. Industrial Commission of Wisconsin*.

The reasoning of those cases seems to be that, since the county is simply performing its governmental function of giving relief to the pauper or indigent, the relationship of employer and employee does not arise; that, by reason of the beneficence of the municipality and the necessity of the worker, the latter falls without the pale of protection of the Compensation Act, notwithstanding he is hired and paid by the municipality and the work he performs is extrahazardous.

Two American courts have taken the opposite view (*City of Waycross v. Hayes*, 48 Ga. App. 317, 172 S. E. 756; *Forest Preserve Dist. of Cook County v. Industrial Commission*, 357 Ill. 389, 192 N. E. 342). And the Supreme Court of North Carolina has more recently held that, if the workman is working for the municipality and paid by it, the relationship of employer and employee exists, notwithstanding compensation was paid out of funds procured from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (*Mayze v. Town of Forest City*, 207 N.C. 168, 176 S. E. 270). These cases are in accord with the rule adopted by the English courts early in the history of workmen's compensation legislation (*Porton v. Central [Unemployed] Body for London* [1908], II B.W.C.C. 296; *Gilroy v. Mackie and Others [Leith Distress Committee]* [1909], II B.W.C.C. 269; *MacGillivray v. Northern Counties Institute for the Blind* [1911], IV B.W.C.C. 429).

Since we shall adopt the English view, we can do no better than to adopt also the cogent reasoning in support of it contained in the first of the above-cited cases. The decision was by the Court of Appeal, and is the leading case on the subject. It is there said: "It is said by counsel for the appellants, who has urged every possible point, that the relation of employer and workman did not exist here because it was not a matter of free choice on either side; that the Central Body could not go into the labour market and get any man they liked, but were practically, if not expressly, limited to such applicants as were sent to them by the distress committee, and that the man himself was not a free agent because he was so hard up that he was ready to take anything that was offered. I can see no foundation for that argument in either of its branches. The Central Body exists for the very purpose of providing work in proper cases. I have no doubt that they exercised their discretion with propriety and employed Porton because he was a man coming within the class of persons whom they were authorised to employ, and they thought it was a reasonable case. Porton, on the other hand, was in no way bound to come to them. He was hard up, no doubt, in the sense that he was willing to take work under rather more disadvantageous conditions than he would have done at other times. What has that to do with it? We have here a document which states the conditions of employment. It is headed 'Central (Unemployed) Body for London.' It states the hours of labour; it states the time allowed for dinner out of those hours; it states the rate of wages per hour, and it states that traveling expenses to a certain extent will be paid if previously sanctioned; then it says what deduction is to be made for lost time. The man accepts the employment; he is employed for a considerable time, and

the average wages extending over that time amounted to 18s. or rather more per week. We are asked to say that that did not create the relation of employer and workman between the Central Body for London and this man. If it was not a contract of employment, I cannot imagine what it was. I know no other words to describe it. It certainly was not charity; it certainly was not poor law relief. Sect. 1 (7) [Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905], if there were any doubt about it, negatives any such idea. It seems to me to be a plain case in which the Central Body were the employers and the deceased man was a workman within the definitions in the Workmen's Compensation Act."

In the instant case, the joint board was obviously confronted by the same difficulty in describing the relationship between the county and the respondent, other than in terms of employment, as the justice who delivered the foregoing opinion had in describing the relationship between the workman and the relief committee, for the joint board, in its order denying respondent's claim, said: "A review of the file indicates that claimant, 53 years of age, on November 25, 1932, while in the employ of Skagit County, was riding home from work in a car driven by the county foreman when the truck struck the back of a trailer, and he sustained a laceration of the scalp and left upper eyelid and a sprained neck; that he was thereafter awarded monthly compensation to March 1, 1933, on or about which time it was discovered that he was engaged in relief work, being paid at the rate of \$2.00 per day by a warrant which was negotiable for groceries or supplies, following which the claim was rejected as above noted, and from which the appeal resulted."

We, too, are at a loss to describe the relationship, other than in terms of employment. It seems apparent that, had respondent been employed on a regular road gang, and had he been paid by warrant on the current expense fund, his right to compensation would not have been questioned. But the statute makes no such distinction, nor does it empower the department to do so. It is no concern of the department, under our Workmen's Compensation Act, as to how the workman is paid—whether it be by cash, warrant, scrip, or supplies. It is sufficient to create the relationship of employer and employee, within the purview of the act, if the county be engaged in extrahazardous work and the worker be engaged, for compensation, in the performance of such work, by some one authorized by the county to hire him.

It is suggested by appellant that the case of *Thurston County Chapter, American Nat. Red Cross v. Department of Labor and Industries* (166 Wash. 488, 7 P. [2d] 577), is of some controlling force here. We do not so read it. That case simply holds (a) that a charitable organization, such as the Red Cross, was not an employer, within the terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act; and (b) that the workmen involved in that controversy were employees of the Red Cross chapter, and not employees of Thurston County.

Judgment affirmed. . . .

The opinion of one justice who concurred in the results only is also given here.

In my opinion the majority has misconceived the purpose of our State Industrial Insurance Act and has likewise misconstrued the self-evident purpose of the several counties in distributing relief to worthy citizens who are in distress in the form described as "made work," "emergency relief work," or by similar terms.

The whole intent and purpose of our state industrial insurance legislation is to compel industry, as a part of the expense of production, to bear the burdens growing out of the hazards of those employed therein productively; no more and no less. To extend the purposes beyond that and make of the industrial insurance law a general life and accident insurance will inevitably tend to destroy the law or to destroy industry or both. Believing in such industrial insurance and desiring to preserve the benefits of our act for those for whom they are intended, I strongly object to its perversion.

Quite naturally and logically we should hold, under the facts of this particular case, that the respondent was employed to do the regular road work of the county which it would have to perform in any event, even though there were none seeking relief, and, if respondent was actually so employed, it is quite immaterial how or out of what fund he was paid. But, beyond that, there is no occasion to go, and, even if the question were here, we should not adopt the broad rule announced by the majority which is in direct opposition to the overwhelming weight of American authority.

Upon questions of common law, English authority is often helpful; but, in construing or applying a statute which abrogates the common law, the English decisions based upon local laws which establish a dole and the like are not only not helpful, but because of dissimilarity of conditions may be positively harmful.

By our statute law the counties are made the sole governmental agency to which the indigent may apply for relief, and, whatever the duties of the state may be, the state has directed the counties to act in all matters relating to the relief of the indigent within their respective jurisdictions. True, the statute does not in terms direct the counties to provide relief work as a means of distributing relief, nor, on the other hand, do I find any statute which forbids the counties the right to require those who are able to so perform a reasonable amount of work in return for relief given. For many years our county poor farms have been conducted upon that principle, and, so far as I am aware, no one has questioned the right of the county officials to require inmates of such institutions to perform such work and render such service as they reasonably may in return for the benefits received. Nor have I yet heard it argued that inmates of such institutions become county employees within the meaning of the Industrial Insurance Act.

Work which is provided for the purpose of distributing relief, by whatever

name it is called, is, in fact and in law, charity, and it is nothing else. An incidental return in the nature of labor or services, wisely provided for in order to remove the stigma of pauperism and to preserve the self-respect of the recipient, does not change the character of the transaction. Such is the almost unanimous holding of the American courts.

In *Vaivida v. City of Grand Rapids*. (264 Mich. 204, 249 N. W. 826, 827, 88 A. L. R. 707), the Supreme Court of Michigan said: "Citizens needing public aid are in a sense wards of the municipality required to support them, and, if the able among them are set at work at common and unremunerative public tasks, there does not arise a contract of hire or the relation of employer and employee, but only a helping hand in behalf of public charity invoked and extended."

In *Jackson v. North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration*, 206 N.C. 274, 173 S. E. 580, 581, the Supreme Court of North Carolina said: "The word 'employee,' as used in the North Carolina Workmen's Compensation Act, means, 'every person engaged in an employment under any appointment or contract of hire or apprenticeship, express or implied, oral or written' (Public Laws of N.C. 1929, chapter 120, § 2, par. [b], N.C. Code of 1931, § 8081 [i] [b]). Plaintiff was not an employee; he was a 'relief worker.' He was not employed by the defendants or either of them; he was provided with work, because of his need of means of support for himself and his family. The money paid to him each week was not paid as remuneration for his work, but was paid for the relief of himself and his family (see *Basham v. County Court of Kanawha County* [West Virginia] 171 S. E. 893). The judgment is affirmed."

In *State ex rel. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare v. Nevada Industrial Commission* ([Nevada] 34 P. [2d] 408), the Supreme Court of Nevada said: "In short, the court is of the opinion that such workmen are not employed by the state, the counties, the school districts, or the municipal corporations of the state, but are provided with work because of the need of means of support for themselves and their families. The money paid them is not paid as a contractual remuneration for their work, but is paid for the relief of themselves and their families. Consequently, whatever else should be done for the relief of unemployment, it is manifest that the terms, conditions, and provisions of the Nevada Industrial Insurance Act cannot be converted into something in the nature of an unemployment insurance benefit for the relief of the unemployed of this state."

In *Thurston County Chapter, American Red Cross v. Department of Labor and Industries* (166 Wash. 488, 7 P. [2d] 577), we held that charitable organizations are not within the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Applying the same principle here, it would appear that the county, while distributing relief to the indigent, is as much a charitable or benevolent organization as any private institution possibly can be. The counties are providing the relief which the statute law compels them to provide, and, though they may do so through the medium of "made work," still they are engaged wholly in distributing charity, and, while so engaged, they are not under the Industrial Insurance Act.

For these reasons I cannot concur in the broad rule laid down by the majority, though I do agree that respondent in this case was hired by the county to do regular road work. Therefore he became an employee of the county and came under the act; the mere fact that he was paid from the indigent relief fund being immaterial, if his employment was otherwise regular.

I therefore concur with the majority only in the result.

III. MINNESOTA UPHOLDS WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR WORK RELIEF⁵

The opinion of the Minnesota Court was as follows:

This case comes here by writ of certiorari to review the decision of the Industrial Commission awarding compensation to the respondent under the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act (Mason's Minn. St. 1927, §4261 et seq., as amended), and the only question presented is whether Michels was an employee of the city of St. Paul within the meaning of that act at the time he was injured.

At the time Michels was injured he was working as a plaster tender on repair or construction work for the board of education. He had been out of employment and had been receiving relief from the board of public welfare of the city, and he was placed upon this work because he had been out of employment and was limited to the number of hours which would bring his pay to a trifle over \$40 per month. Had he remained on subsistence relief without working he would have received subsistence amounting to three-quarters of this sum. If he is entitled to compensation under the act he will, because of its part-time provisions, be entitled to approximately double the amount of compensation that he would be permitted to earn as wages working for the city.

It is not necessary here to recite the various organizations that enter into the machinery of administration of federal relief, but it appears that the city obtained from the federal government an allotment of federal emergency relief funds in excess of \$50,000 for the work project on a part of which Michels was working when he was injured.

It is contended by the city that the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act do not apply to relief workers, and that Michels may not have the benefit of the act, and they cite to us the case of *Hanson v. St. James Hotel* (191 Minn. 315, 254 N. W. 4), and a great number of cases from other jurisdictions where it was held that such workers do not come within the benefit of the Compensation Act. There is, however, present in this case an element that was absent in the Hanson case and which we do not find considered in other cases cited to us. In its application for federal funds for the particular project upon which Michels was employed, the city agreed: "To provide necessary workmen's compensation insurance to cover all persons employed on said project, or if such

⁵ *Michels v. City of St. Paul*, 258 North Western Reporter 163 (Supreme Court of Minnesota, January 4, 1935).

compensation insurance cannot be obtained, to assume the statutory responsibility for compensation benefits to any injured employees. It is expressly understood that the responsible governing body submitting this application admits and assumes such responsibility for workmen's compensation as may exist under the laws of the State of Minnesota." In our opinion this is an outright agreement on the part of the city, made for the benefit of the employee who might be engaged upon the work to which the funds were to be applied, to assume the same responsibility toward him as it would have if it employed the men directly under ordinary normal circumstances and as a matter of contract made for his benefit. We think that the employee may take advantage of this agreement and in consequence is entitled to the relief provided under the Compensation Act. We do not consider the contract *ultra vires* in the sense that it would be unenforceable against the city.

Affirmed.

IV. ANOTHER CALIFORNIA WORK-RELIEF DECISION⁶

In December of 1933, respondent Harry Stout was on the county welfare rolls of Los Angeles County, receiving aid in the form of groceries and foodstuff, being classified as an "open welfare case." The Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.), a federal relief agency, under its plan to furnish relief and relief work in aid of the states, requested the board of education of the city of Los Angeles, among other municipal corporations in Los Angeles County, to outline a project whereby work positions in and about the schools might be furnished, the plan requiring that the persons to fill these positions should be so-called "white collar" persons on the county welfare rolls. The board by resolution furnished an outline of a project, therein providing positions for clerical, gardener, and janitor service, and such like, but therein expressly declined to assume compensation liability or liability for injuries to workmen on the project. The C.W.A. accepted this project and organized another agency called "Civil Works Service" (C.W.S.) to administer the same, naming the project "Civil Works Service Project No. 8223." The county welfare officials sent Stout to the board to qualify himself for a position in this project. The board passed upon his qualifications and recommended him for a work order as a gardener, and such order was issued by county welfare to the respondent, who went to work on December 18, 1933, at Fishburn Avenue School in Maywood. He was supervised by the principal of the school in his performance of service, but was subject to discharge or transfer to another project by C.W.S. only, and his wages were fixed by the latter and paid by the disbursing officer of C.W.S. from funds derived from federal appropriations provided for federal emergency relief. On January 15, 1934, while working as a janitor at the school, Stout was injured. After a hearing, the respondent commission decided that the county of Los

⁶ *Board of Education of Los Angeles v. Industrial Accident Commission of California*, 39 Pacific Reporter (2d) 521 (District Court of Appeal, Second District, Division 2, California, December 31, 1934).

Angeles was the general employer, and that the board of education was the special employer; that the board received the benefit of his service; and that said respondent was injured in the course of and arising out of such employment, and made an award against State Compensation Insurance Fund, as insurance carrier of the board of education.

The questions herein presented are: (1) Was respondent Stout, at the time of injury, an employee as contemplated by the Workmen's Compensation Act? (2) Was he excluded from the benefits of such law by the amendment of section 8(a) thereof in 1933?

The transaction revealed by the record herein is clearly one lying within the field of public welfare, and the essential characteristics of a contract of hire are not found therein, as defined in the Workmen's Compensation Law. Nor does it fall within the purview of that law or the theory upon which the law is founded and upheld. Under the facts going to make up the transaction, and the definitions of employer and employee in the law in question, respondent Stout was not an employee of either the county of Los Angeles or the board of education. Nor does the finding that the board received the benefit of his services in any wise support a conclusion that thereby the status of employee was established. These conclusions are clearly consistent with and sustained by the decision in the case of *McBurney v. Industrial Accident Commission* (220 Cal. 124, 30 P. [2d] 414), decided on a state of facts constituting a transaction so similar to the one here involved, in its essential factors, as to constitute it a binding authority on this court.

In addition to the subject-matter on which the decision in the *McBurney* case was based, there arises in this case a new and additional factor by reason of certain subsequent amendments of the law relating to indigents and workmen's compensation. By Act 5815, § 1, Deering's General Laws (1933 Supp., p. 2042), in effect August 21, 1933, it was provided that work might be created and required of an able-bodied indigent as a condition of relief. Respondent Stout was able-bodied, and this work was made work and was given him for the purpose of relief. By amendment of Section 8(a) of the Workmen's Compensation Law (Deering's Gen. Laws, 1933 Supp., p. 1831, Act 4749), approved August 2, 1933, there was added a provision excluding from construction of the term "employee," as therein defined, "any person or persons who perform services in return for aid or sustenance only, received from any religious, charitable or relief organization." Stout received aid from a relief organization in the form of wages in return for service performed only on a relief project. Clearly he is excluded from the category of "employee" as thus limited by the act in question. Section 12½ of the same law, added at the same session (Deering's Gen. Laws, 1933 Supp., p. 1834, Act 4749), does not, as claimed by respondent commission, in any wise affect or change the definition of "employee" as contained in Section 8(a) of the law. On the contrary, it is predicated on the existence of the status of employee, as defined in Section 8(a), is limited to unemployment work relief program conducted by the state or any political subdivision thereof, and simply provides a measure

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of determining disability payments if and when such are found to be lawfully due to some injured employee under the terms of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

The award is annulled.

V. THREE DECISIONS OF THE IOWA INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION REGARDING WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND WORK RELIEF AND ONE MINNESOTA COMMISSION DECISION

In general the industrial boards and workmen's compensation commissions have taken a more liberal attitude toward compensation for work-relief accidents than have the courts to which the decisions of these industrial commissions have been appealed.

The last year's report of the Iowa Industrial Commissioner⁷ contains some especially interesting material on this subject. In the Commissioner's *Report*, he makes the following statement on the subject of work relief:

Compensation relations with emergency relief employment has required much consideration during the biennium. It is a question that will not stay settled, due to differing set-ups developing in such enterprise. In order intelligently to deal with this situation, it is necessary to understand who sets the workman to his task, by whom he is in service supervised, directed and controlled, to whom inures the benefit of work performed and by whom payment is made for services rendered. No attempt has been or will be made to conceal the purpose of this department in all cases where the law can be made to apply, to find an employer responsible to a workman injured in this so-called relief work. To assume that a workman by law required to perform service under practical legal duress shall be turned away without relief in the permanent loss of earning capacity is absolutely unthinkable, if the law can be made to identify a responsible employer. It is necessary so to deal with convicts who have forfeited civil rights through acts of criminality, but it is inconceivable that men under stress of abnormal economic conditions should be so ruthlessly abandoned to the hazard of enforced employment.

Three of the decisions of the Iowa Commissioner on this subject during the year 1934 are also included here as containing interesting material on this subject that is not conveniently available for members of the social work group. The fourth decision is an especially interesting opinion by the Minnesota State Workmen's Compensation Commission.

⁷ Iowa. *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Workmen's Compensation Service for the Period Ended June 29, 1934 and Report of Decisions by the Department and the State Courts*. A. B. Funk, Industrial Commissioner. Des Moines, 1934.

I. COUNTY HELD FOR RELIEF WORK UNDER DIRECT COUNTY CONTROL

Floyd Roberts, Claimant, v. Pottawattamie County, and City of Council Bluffs, Defendants. In Review.

In arbitration it was found that Floyd Roberts sustained injury as arising out of employment February 13, 1933, by the defendant county.

This is a "made work" case. In return for a ton of coal supplied by the county of Pottawattamie, claimant was required to perform service on the streets of Council Bluffs. In this service he was injured.

The defendant county resists payment in accordance with the arbitration decision, relying chiefly upon the contention that at the time of his injury the employment of claimant qualifies as "purely casual and not for the purpose of the employer's trade or business" under the provisions of Paragraph *a*, Sub-section 3, Section 1421 of the Code.

In support of this contention counsel cites five opinions of the Supreme Court in which the term "purely casual" has specific interpretation.

These decisions are all based upon injuries sustained in years in which a different statute applied. During this period the statutory term "purely casual" in the compensation law meant just that and nothing more. The dictionary definition classified the status.

Since the new Code came into effect October 28, 1924, what is "purely casual" in fact does not necessarily so qualify in law. So we may not take very seriously the interpretation of the court of a statute differing substantially from existing law. As now used in Section 1421 of the Code the term is without force or effect if the work is "for the purpose of the employer's trade or business."

The defense, however, does not seek to avoid the vital qualification. The broad ground is taken that as the service in which Roberts was injured was within the city limits of Council Bluffs it was not for the purpose of the trade or business of Pottawattamie County.

This defense might have more weight in ordinary employment conditions. In fact under such ordinary conditions the county would not have taken over this claimant for any such service as was performed; he would have bought his own coal without obligation to anybody. In the existing emergency Roberts had to have public relief and this was furnished by action of the Board of Supervisors. As a matter of public policy and personal self-respect it was held to be expedient to ask of Roberts quid pro quo in the way of personal service. In the discharge of public duty the county arranged to take over this city work as a matter of common interest and expediency and in so doing it did not abandon its responsibility to employment.

In the arrangement of details the county overseer in his official capacity hired claimant and assigned him to service on the streets of Council Bluffs. There was general understanding that this arrangement was consistent with emergency unemployment. The work on the streets was by no means urgent. It was developed as part of the county relief program.

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The statute provides specifically that all counties are subject to compensation provision. Except as definitely excluded, that is to say, if the work is not agricultural, domestic, or clerical, every employer is held in obligation to his employees for injuries arising out of employment. Employed, assigned to service and paid by the county of Pottawattamie the circumstances of employment do not tend to make this service rendered by Roberts separate and apart from the usual trade or business of the employer or to make his work classify as "purely casual and not for the purpose of the employer's trade or business."

Deliberate consideration of the entire employment situation involved in this case develops the conclusion that the arbitration decision should be and it is hereby affirmed.

No appeal. November 8, 1933.

2. COUNTY LIABLE WHERE RELIEF WORK DONE ON BORROWED FUNDS

Sam Smith, Claimant, v. Linn County Board of Supervisors, and City of Cedar Rapids, Defendants. In Review.

In arbitration the defendant county of Linn was ordered to pay the claimant, Sam Smith, the sum of \$99.60 for injury to an index finger arising out of employment by the said defendant.

This record submits an array of fact and circumstance unusual in department experience. Uppermost in controversy, however, is the issue as to whether or not workmen are to be denied compensation protection for the hazards of employment while employed on public works created to ameliorate the rigors of unemployment.

Under provisions of law the defendant county of Linn secured a loan of \$70,000 from the federal government through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These funds were all to be devoted to the needs of the unemployed on the terms of earning in public employment. They were to be expended under the direction of a county Emergency Relief Committee nominated by the governor of the state and confirmed by the Board of Supervisors. Some of the work provided appears to have been on county and some on city projects, but the county was charged with the responsibility of designating the projects to be served whether of city or county character. Men were by this county committee assigned to service on city work, the county to assume all responsibility for wage payment though the city was to benefit by the said service which was to be directed by a city representative.

Sam Smith was by the County Emergency Committee employed and assigned to serve in a stone quarry operated by the city of Cedar Rapids under city supervision and direction and he was injured in this employment.

It is necessary to decide herein as to whether the county or the city or either of them is held in obligation under the compensation statute. Both parties disclaim such obligation.

It is not made to appear that working relationship served to deprive this workman of compensation benefits provided by statute for injury arising out of

employment. In cases where such injury occurs the amount of wages or manner of payment has nothing to do with coverage. The law provides that where employment relations exist employer shall make and the employee shall accept compensation payment. It also provides that no rule, regulation or device "shall operate to relieve the employer in whole or in part" from such liability.

On the part of the defense it is plead that no contract of employment express or implied existed in this case. The record is plainly in evidence to the contrary. It is further contended that even if Linn County might have been liable this claim must be rejected on the technical ground that action is brought against its Board of Supervisors. We are admonished by the statute that this service is to be administered "in such manner as is best suited to ascertain and conserve the substantial rights of all parties." The Board of Supervisors is the business agency of the county. It is the only official agency invested with final authority in the transaction of county business. This Board of Supervisors made the R.F.C. loan. It became responsible for the acts of the Emergency Committee of its own selection and approval. Under the action of this committee this claimant was employed and in such employment he sustained his injury.

The record tends to show that there was no error in arbitration, in identifying the county of Linn as the actual employer of Sam Smith. The project in which injury occurred was in the nature of created work. It was work not required at the time by city needs but work made to meet the emergency of unemployment. The city could not assume the burden of wage payment as it was without the financial resources provided the county through the R.F.C. loan. It is plainly implied that the city was to assume no financial responsibility whatever in this connection; hence it cannot be charged with obligation arising under the compensation statute.

The work in which Smith was engaged at the time of his injury was clearly part of the emergency program of Linn County. The county was wholly responsible for Smith's employment for the payment of his wages and the entire situation justifies the conclusion that upon it devolves contingent liability under the statute.

The defense of casual employment is held to be without merit. This defense applies only in cases where the employer in law has no trade or business or where the work performed is unrelated to such trade or business as he may have. No public service is legally exempt from statutory obligation to workmen injured in such service.

This case is important far beyond the modest amount of award. In many states, including the state of Iowa, there has been active controversy over issues herein. There are few court decisions bearing thereon. In a Michigan case most nearly in point the decision is against recovery with three justices dissenting. The weight of department opinion as recorded in many states is favorable to award.

In summing up a number of decisions for and against, a prominent legal publication makes this pertinent comment:

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"A grave problem of social justice is unquestionably presented, when the state denies recompense to those who have been required to labor for its charity and who are most in need of the social assistance compensation was designed to give."

These so-called R.F.C. workers had to perform service in order to obtain R.F.C. funds. The federal loan was secured only on the condition that it should be used to afford employment and not to furnish direct relief. All through the record it appears that the work performed by Smith was supplied under the order of the Emergency Relief Committee representing Linn County. Responsibility for employment and for payment devolved there and nowhere else no matter when or where the work was performed. That this work was made to meet the emergency of unemployment cannot serve to obscure the fact that the relations of employer and employee existed, a relationship which carries with it the provisions of statute affording relief to workmen injured in employment.

Unless or until its highest court shall hold to the contrary, the state of Iowa will line up with others holding it to be in violation of the spirit and purpose of compensation to deny to workmen any measure of relief from disability due to service required to be performed in return for the doubtful privilege of mere existence.

Upon this record it is held that:

1. At the time of his injury this claimant was under the protection of the compensation statute.
2. The county of Linn, by which he was employed for service and paid therefor, is held in obligation for statutory compensation payment.

The arbitration decision is affirmed. September 29, 1933.

3. RELIEF WORK FOR COUNTY UNDER COMPENSATION LAW

Olive M. Scarborough, Claimant, v. Black Hawk County, Defendant. In Review.

Black Hawk County was furnishing work to men with families in connection with its unemployment relief program. Under this arrangement N. A. Scarborough was doing quarry work some ten miles from Waterloo. The county was furnishing transportation to and from the city.

January 25, 1933, as this workman was getting off a trailer carrying him back to town he fell under its wheels sustaining injury proving fatal two days later.

This action is brought by the dependent widow to establish a claim for relief under the compensation statute.

On the part of the county it is contended that no contract of employment existed with the deceased workman, due to the fact that service was rendered in connection with its unemployment relief program and the manner of payment for work is plead in further evidence of the absence of contractual relationship.

Norman Scarborough had for eleven years been regularly employed in the shops of the Illinois Central Railroad at Waterloo. Due to the disasters of depression he found himself out of a job. With a wife and six children to support

it became necessary to apply to the county for relief. Instead of merely taking him and his family on for support the county sought to secure to a greater or less extent quid pro quo for supplies furnished the family. In this proceeding the workman was subjected to the hazards of employment in which he lost his life and his family was deprived of his support.

The Code of Iowa makes it incumbent upon a county to provide relief for such poor persons as should not be sent to the county home. As a supplemental provision it is ordered that able-bodied persons may be required to labor faithfully in return for relief supplied. It cannot here be admitted that when the county sets such able-bodied men to work in return for such supplies it assumes no responsibility for injury to the worker arising out of such employment. It cannot be assumed that in his unfortunate situation due to widespread unemployment he must, when ordered to work by municipal authority, forfeit his rights of citizenship and the ordinary claims of employment relationship to such an extent that in case of injury he is deprived of relief afforded by law to other workmen.

Counsel on both sides cite in support of contention *Vaivida v. City of Grand Rapids* (249 N. W. 826).

This case is founded upon facts and circumstances similar to those herein appearing. The decision is most interesting in that in protest against majority opinion in denial of award the proud state of Michigan is honored by the very able and equitable dissenting opinion of three justices. This department much prefers to be on the side of the humane and logical dissenters.

The majority rely upon the doctrine that "Municipalities called upon to support paupers have a right to their services and earnings to aid in their support."

Conceding this arbitrary assumption the vaunted authority should not carry with it immunity when employment causes injury to or death of the workman. In the exercise of control over time and energy the municipality must not be permitted to require of the workman unseemly surrender of manhood or the sacrifice of rights inherent in usual employment relationship.

This reasonable conclusion on the part of the dissenting justices finds full endorsement here:

"In having full control of and dictating the rate of wages, the hours of labor and the condition of employment, the city was in no different position than any other employer who can make his own terms, nor plaintiff than any other employee who accepts the terms offered."

Arbitration decision in award is affirmed. April 19, 1934.

4. WORK RELIEF AND COMPENSATION

*George Thompson, Employee, Respondent, v. Ramsey County Board of Public Welfare, Employer, and City of St. Paul, Employer, Appellant.*⁸ (Industrial Commission Opinion, September 16, 1931.)

⁸ Minnesota Industrial Commission, *Workmen's Compensation Decisions*, VII (1933), 27-29.

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H. M. GALLAGHER, *Commissioner*:

The Ramsey County Board of Public Welfare is a charitable organization, created under the provisions of chapter 371, Laws of Minnesota for 1929.

As a part of its functions, the Board of Public Welfare administered charity to people out of employment and in need. In order to remove to some extent the stigma of charity, an arrangement was worked out whereby the person desiring food or coal would apply to the secretary of the Board of Public Welfare and be given a slip referring the bearer to the Commissioner of Parks, Play Grounds and Public Buildings for a certain designated number of days' work. The commissioner would then put the man to work under some department of the city of St. Paul and at the completion of the work would give to the employe another slip certifying that he had completed the designated number of days' employment.

The employe was paid compensation at the rate of 45 cents per hour, not in the form of cash, but in the form of groceries and coal. All of the work performed was performed for the city of St. Paul, and, while the groceries and coal furnished were purchased out of a fund, one-third of which was contributed by the city of St. Paul and two-thirds by the county of Ramsey, under the admitted state of facts it is quite apparent that substantially the entire fund so disbursed was in reality actually furnished by the taxpayers of the city of St. Paul.

It appears to the commission that, in providing the employment involved herein, the Board of Public Welfare constituted only an instrumentality of the city in arranging for the employment. After the man was once employed and referred to a head of a department of the city having charge of the work, this employe was under the supervision and control of the city. The city received the benefit of the employment, and, through the medium of the Board of Public Welfare, contributed at least part of the payment for the services so rendered. The work done by the employe was in the course of business of the city, and it seems to the commission that, as between the employe and the city of St. Paul, the relation of employe and employer existed.



Jane Addams

1860-1935



THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW was already in press for the final printing in time for the June conferences when the word came that Jane Addams had gone. Any attempt to tell of her great career of public service and the full significance of her great contribution to social legislation and social reform must be postponed to the September number. At the present time, the members of the Board of Editors of this *Review*, all residents of Hull-House who have had the high privilege of serving under her inspiring leadership, are overwhelmed by the sense of personal loss; and this feeling of personal bereavement will, we are sure, be shared by the wide fellowship of social workers who are reached by this *Review*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

JAMES MULLENBACH

1870-1935

THE recent death of James Mullenbach has taken one of the most distinguished public servants from the liberal field of social work and social reform. To James Mullenbach social service meant "individual case work, institutional management, and, finally, general social action by way of prevention." His own contribution fell in all of these divisions of the field. As head of a great case-work agency, the United Charities of Chicago, he believed that "the natural effect of good social case work is to reveal the need of social justice."

Born in the Copper Country of Upper Michigan, he had a typical middle western education. He graduated from Fargo College in North Dakota and became one of Graham Taylor's students in a class in social ethics at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Later he went to live at the Chicago Commons and to begin civic work under Graham Taylor's leadership. In large part he was responsible for the organization of the first Chicago Municipal Lodging House to care for the homeless men of a great city during the depression of 1907.

He was a great pioneer along paths now familiar to social workers. While he was assistant superintendent of the United Charities he was called to take charge of rescue and relief work at the time of the Cherry Mine disaster in 1909.

To those who remember James Mullenbach, his rare spiritual qualities seemed to be wisely matched by a powerful commanding physical appearance. His kindliness seemed more kind, his gentleness more gentle, his firmness more firm, his intelligence and wisdom more far reaching as his powerful physical frame towered above his friends. He seemed strangely well chosen for service in such a tragic place as the immigrant mining town of Cherry, Illinois, whose disaster he described as follows:

The disaster at Cherry was a peculiar one. The fire and destruction of life was all underground. There was no loss on the surface. Two hundred and fifty-odd breadwinners with their digging clothes and tools were lost. All of the appointments of an orderly community remained. But the morale of the people was destroyed by the catastrophe. The need of the people was not in the first

instance for relief but for a strengthening and comforting of their spirits. As a matter of fact no actual need could arise until the payments due the widows of the miners should be exhausted. As is the practice in most mining regions the miners had two weeks of back wages coming to them at the time of the disaster.

As executive secretary of the Cherry Relief Commission, under his wise guidance, death benefits went to the families, schools were reopened, and normal life was restored in the stricken community, a playground was opened and a competent playground director brought in to attract the children away from the mine.

Largely because of the work of James Mullenbach the schedule of financial aid at the Cherry Mine

marked a great advance over earlier disaster relief practice in the emphasis it placed on securing the economic future of the afflicted families and in the adoption as a means to that end, of the pension plan of payments in place of the then prevailing "lump sum" basis of settlement. But no one must make the mistake of supposing that the success of the disaster relief administration lay in the particular fiscal scheme and schedule of payments which were adopted. . . . In practice, the schedule of payments was not rigidly applied, and was really simply a convenient scale of measuring the needs of each family in turn against the needs of all the others and in relation to the available relief funds. Families were not fitted to the scale, but the scale to the families.¹

When James Mullenbach became in 1912 the first impartial chairman of the trade board set up by Hart, Schaffner, and Marx and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, his new position was not an easy one. He had to struggle against prejudices of long standing and the bitterness engendered in a hard-fought strike. For many weeks the employers avoided speaking to him when he entered or left the building. He was an alien and subject to suspicion as an intruder. For a long time the company was doubtful of the chairman's impartiality, and he did not consider it wise, under the circumstances, to be seen around the building with any of the union representatives. Between these two traditional enemies Mr. Mullenbach worked along patiently attempting to determine and strengthen the rightful claims of each. In view of the present fine understanding and long-continued co-operation between this company and the union, it is difficult to imagine the "dark age" of those days of distrust and suspicion. But history was made in the field of industrial relationship.

At the outset it must be admitted that the trade board functioned rather crudely. All were untrained, though the union representatives had had much more experience in handling complaints both in interpreting them to their

¹ J. B. Deacon, *Disasters and the American Red Cross*, p. 59.

people and in presenting them before the trade board, than the company's people. For guidance in procedure and in decisions in such cases as came before the trade board, there were the agreement and the rules which had created the trade board and defined its function. There were few precedents and they were disregarded as a rule. Each case was decided on its own merits.²

James Mullenbach lived to see the growth of law and order in the men's clothing industry, which passed from one of the worst of the sweated trades to an industry that set an example in the development of machinery and precedents for the adjustment of grievances as they arose with the installation of new machinery, with new styles and new methods of work, and in the day-by-day relationships between employee and foreman. From this Chicago activity he was called by Secretary Ickes to Washington more than a year ago to serve as a member of the labor board for the oil industry. In a few months the value of his keen eye, his infectious humor, his experience in labor negotiation, and his sincerity and obvious honesty of purpose were known in other departments. He was soon recognized as the most skilful negotiator in Washington at a time when such expertness was never more needed. He was drafted for the steel and textile boards in both of which, conditions were critical. His work in Washington was interrupted by his last illness.

No attempt can be made here to review adequately his varied activities as a social worker, social reformer, labor negotiator, and civic leader in Chicago. He served as secretary of the Illinois Committee on Social Legislation; as head of Oak Forest, the great Cook County "poor farm," under a reform president of the county board and instituted many much needed administrative changes; he represented at one time the National Association of Land, Labor and Immigration Officials; and he gave long years of arduous service on the Chicago board of education. He was a man singularly respected, trusted, admired, and loved.

He believed in the high worth of human values, and sought them earnestly in every man. He had stoutly held religious convictions for which he was never apologetic. They were the very fiber of his character. They made him strong to will where other men wished weakly. But he held the utmost respect for the differing beliefs of his fellows, and drew no line of creed or caste or color in his comradeship.³

² James Mullenbach's "Lecture Notes," p. 12.

³ From an appreciation by S. J. Duncan-Clark in the *Chicago Daily News*, April 6, 1935.

"C.O.S." INTO "FAMILY SERVICE"

WHEN the history of social work comes to be written, the letters C.O.S. will be written large in the "alphabet series" with which social workers are familiar. These letters more than any others will be read as the symbol of the period of the development of case work—a period extending in America from the decade marked and marred by the depression of 1873 to the first decade of the mothers' pensions laws, when in wide areas outside the old C.O.S. boundaries case-work methods were generally accepted. As case work became generally regarded as indispensable in child welfare, in state institutional programs, in settlements with neighborhood visitors, in hospital social work, and in many other divisions of the social work field, the social agencies whose primary responsibility had been the care of destitute families no longer carried the sole responsibility for "organizing charity." The word "charity" itself became unpopular, and the substitution of the more modern social work terminology completed the lack of appropriateness of a name that seemed to mark a single social agency in each community as solely responsible for the organization of the social resources of that community for all who were in need of outside aid.

The recent announcement that the Family Service Division of the New York C.O.S. will henceforth be the Institute of Family Service marks the end of the great period of more than half a century in our history extending from the founding of charity organization societies in various American cities in the quinquennium from 1878 to 1883 to the widespread adoption of case-work methods and the rise of school of social work in the first quarter of the present century.

In this great period of development the New York C.O.S. had a position of great influence. Founded in 1883, the secretary of the society, Charles D. Kellogg, read a paper at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 in which he reported that there were 1,506 salaried workers as compared with 517 in 1882 in the C.O.S. in the different cities with such societies. It is a far cry from this period to the enumeration of more than 30,000 "social workers" in the federal occupational census of 1930. The following extract from an editorial in the *New York Times* recognizes these changes and their acceptance by the great social agency that has been built by Charles D. Kellogg, Edward T. Devine, Lawson Purdy, and Stanley Davies and has enrolled such able and constructive servants as Josephine Shaw Lowell, the late Robert W. DeForest, Mrs. John M. Glenn, and a host of others. The comment of the *Times* is:

The will and effort of tens of thousands of families to be self-supporting are needing in greater degree than ever before the human sympathy and skilled professional advice which are as essential as material relief to the maintenance of the integrity and welfare of family life.

FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID AND FEDERAL STANDARDS

THERE has been much opposition in Congress to all the standards for grants-in-aid set up in the Security Bill; but the provision that the old age assistance grants were to become available only if the state plan "furnishes assistance at least great enough to provide, when added to the income of the aged recipient, a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health" (Title I, Sec. 4 [e]) has been the special target of southern sharpshooters. Almost exactly the same language was used in the section providing for grants-in-aid for dependent children popularly known as "mother's aid." Maintenance of a reasonable standard of living would seem to be the reason for a federal subsidy, for old age or for mothers' pensions, but it was eliminated from both sections by the House Ways and Means Committee. The reason undoubtedly is the fear, which hides behind the old shibboleth of states' rights, that the federal government may disturb general economic levels and wage scales by giving to the aged and incapacitated workers more than they were ever able to earn in their prime, or in the case of dependent children that the care may be better than the state desires to give Negro children, for example. These were not the reasons why this condition was placed in the original bill, absurdly low standards have not been confined to the South and if a state wants its aged or its fatherless children to live on two or three dollars a month, is there any reason for the federal government sharing the cost of such a program? The security which means slow starvation is not what the government wants to encourage in the states. But that a "sovereign state" should ask approval for a state law, or be told what, in general, the amount of its pensions should be is described by Senator Byrd as destructive of sacred rights.

There is much confused thinking on the subject of federal conditions or standards in connection with a grants-in-aid program. There has always been more objection in Congress than in the states to what is usually referred to as "federal dictation." The necessities of the last years have made inevitable acceptance of more supervision than has ever before been attempted, or than would probably be justified except for the emergency. Under normal conditions a state could refuse to accept aid if it was op-

posed to the conditions under which it was granted. That this may have had, in the past, a restraining influence on federal bureaus wanting state co-operation, may be true. At any rate federal bureaus administering grants-in-aid have regarded rows with the states and refusal of aid evidence of lack of skill in dealing with the state administrators, and there has, in the past, been little criticism of the administration of federal grants-in-aid.

The mounting costs of relief have, in effect, taken from the states their independence in accepting or declining federal aid. Governors and legislatures have felt that they had to accept any conditions imposed because, if they resisted and the decision went against them, hunger and suffering would be widespread. On the other hand, the federal government has undoubtedly felt it was unable to lay down definite conditions because, if not accepted by the states, hunger and suffering would be laid at its door. Hence the game of bluff and yielding under pressure by both. However much lack of definiteness in standards may be deplored, federal participation in relief has greatly improved local standards, social workers are all agreed. That is one reason why they want the grants-in-aid policy to be continued. But it must be recognized that there is now a developing resentment of "orders" from Washington by governors and legislatures. It is, therefore, important for social workers to decide what are reasonable requirements on the part of the federal government.

In the first place, one important reason for grants-in-aid, both federal and state, is that they can be used to raise minimum standards in the field in which assistance is given. Moreover, money should not be granted by the United States to the states or by the states to the counties without some control over how the money is expended. They should not subsidize what they do not approve.

Conditions have, in the past, been attached to federal grants-in-aid of education, of good roads, of agriculture, and of health, as well as of relief. In practice, state administrators have usually found these conditions a protection against political interference or misuse of funds, and have been glad to be able to quote to political superiors what the federal government would not permit. As one state health officer said with reference to federal health funds, "I could, probably, get the money from the state legislature, but I should then lose the protection which federal participation in the program gives me." In the same way a state fund helps to defeat local selfishness in the administration of a county program. Conditions or standards, therefore, are not only theoretically necessary;

experience has shown that they are practically desirable. Undoubtedly, however, there can be too much remote control. Unreasonable and undesirable conditions should not be imposed, and interference in the detail of administration should not become the rule.

Lines that the federal direction should take are indicated by experience. In general, the state should know what conditions it will be required to meet; these conditions should be broad general policies and should not be changed without reasonable notice. It is interesting in this connection to find that the Security Bill, as reported by the House Ways and Means Committee, provides in the case of the unconditioned subsidy for public health that the Surgeon General shall formulate the rules and regulations governing allotments to the states "after consultation with a conference of the state and territorial health authorities." This was undoubtedly added at the request of the state health officers, as it did not appear in the original bill. When no standards are included in the law, this is a procedure which should prevent misunderstandings and friction.

Federal officers sent to the states to inspect the work done with grants-in-aid funds should be limited to auditing accounts, explaining federal policies, and inspecting the records and work of the state to see whether, in fact, state administration follows the lines laid down in the plans submitted and approved by the federal administering agency. If the federal representative goes to help rather than control, he will be welcomed. Visits to the governor and to co-operating agencies with or without the state administrator, as he may desire, will often be very helpful. Conferences of state directors are a very valuable although costly method of bringing out successes and failures in the programs of the states. In the beginning, at least, an annual conference is worth the price.

Employment in a national field gives an opportunity for a wider acquaintance with the results of different methods and plans than the state or county worker can have. But the federal officers must know that all wisdom does not emanate from Washington. Many of the ablest workers, whose judgment is of first rate importance, are not in the federal service because they prefer to do a job rather than supervise others. Any attempt at detailed control, lack of appreciation of local problems, or failure to encourage experimentation by the state is sure to set back the whole program of federal aid and federal standards which we all know are of great importance in our social services. The standards set in the Security Bill and largely removed by the House committee will, we hope, eventually be restored.

SOCIAL AGENCIES AND THE PAY-ROLL TAX

OUR professional organization, the A.A.S.W., acted wisely in protesting against the exemption of social agencies from the pay-roll tax in the Security Bill and our national secretary, Walter West, is to be commended for the letter of protest which he sent to Congressman Doughton, chairman of the House Committee in charge of the bill. The letter follows:

DEAR MR. DOUGHTON:

The American Association of Social Workers wishes to register with the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives its conviction that the Wagner-Lewis Bill, H.R. 4120, should not make exceptions of social, religious, health, or other non-profit philanthropic, charitable, or educational organizations in connection with the pay-roll taxes to be imposed for social insurance purposes. The reasons why this Association is opposed to any special exemptions which we understand have been put into the bill as it is to be reported from the House by the Ways and Means Committee are as follows:

1. It is our belief that social insurance measures should be broad and all embracing in so far as wage earners and low salaried workers are concerned. All of the institutions and kinds of agencies which we have described above would fall in this class.

2. The argument has been advanced that employment risks, etc., are not as great in these semi-public or non-profit organizations as in industrial organizations and that therefore the pay-roll tax would impose an unjustified burden on the budgets of these agencies. It is our belief that that argument could also be advanced for certain industries and commercial employments which are not subject to hazards which others contain, but that every principle of insurance would be violated if the lesser risks were all exempted and the total cost assessed against the heavier risks.

3. The argument has also been advanced that the pay-roll tax can be passed on to the consumers by commerce and industry, whereas it must become a fixed load on the budget of a charitable, educational, or other non-profit organization. This seems to the Association no competent argument as compared with the following:

4. The non-profit organizations mentioned are all in a sense supporters of advanced social legislation and would be severely compromised, we believe, in asking or accepting any exemption from a measure whose social purposes these agencies advocate for commercial or industrial enterprises. If such legislation is passed, we believe it should be assumed that such agencies would be the most willing of all pay-roll concerns to adjust their programs and policies to conform to this type of forward looking social legislation.

5. The Association believes that social workers and all other employees of social agencies should be given the same opportunities for security that exist

in other types of employment. Through such means benefits would accrue to the credit of social, educational, and other programs as are expected to accrue to commercial and industrial programs through the greater stability and security of the employed personnel.

We hope very much that before reporting this proposal to the House your committee will give consideration to these arguments for including charitable, religious, health, and educational organizations in the provisions of the pay-roll tax along with commercial and industrial companies. Respectfully yours, Walter West, American Association of Social Workers.

Although it may be too late for action when this appears, the *Review* warmly endorses the action of the Association which should make available old age annuities and unemployment compensation for social workers. It is to be hoped that resolutions supporting Mr. West's letter have gone in and will go in from all of our chapters.

NEW YORK ADOPTS UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

WE ARE indebted to the American Association for Labor Legislation for the following brief summary of the provisions of the New York Unemployment Compensation law which Governor Lehman signed on April 10:

Coverage.—Employers of four or more employees. All manual workers; all non-manual workers under \$50 a week.

Exemptions.—Farm laborers, members of employer's family, public employees, casual workers (if employed less than ninety days in year). Religious, scientific, charitable, educational organizations.

Benefits.—Half wages, but not over \$15 nor less than \$5 for sixteen weeks in a year. Limited to one week of benefit for each fifteen days of employment during preceding fifty-two weeks. Payments begin in 1938.

Waiting period.—Three weeks; with aggregate of not more than five weeks in a year.

Contributions.—By employer only; 3 per cent of pay-roll of employees covered. (1 per cent, 1936, March 1—; 2 per cent, 1937; 3 per cent, 1938.)

State fund.—One single pool to be used solely for benefits.

Administration.—State Industrial Commissioner (with rule-making power). Benefits paid through public employment offices. State Appeal Board: three salaried members appointed by Governor. Court appeal on questions of law only. Representative Advisory Council (three employer, three labor, three public) unsalaried with over-lapping six-year terms appointed by Governor.

New York has thus followed the courageous lead which Wisconsin gave us in 1932. Washington and Utah had taken similar action a few weeks earlier. The New York law like the Wisconsin one, we are glad to note,

does not require employee contributions. Unlike Wisconsin it has adopted the theory that the only practical objective is *relief* and not *prevention of unemployment*, for it has a pooled fund with no scheme for merit rating for employers who have little unemployment or encouragement for those who succeed in reducing it. Utah adopted the "American Plan" law which has been sponsored by the American Association of Labor Legislation.

Social workers will generally object to the exemptions which the federal law as passed by the House and the New York law make—particularly the exemption of religious, scientific, charitable, and educational organizations. They will also be disappointed that the benefits are not greater. However, there is really no adequate statistical basis for a decision as to what, in fact, a tax of 3 per cent will make possible. Reliable data on unemployment will become available only as the adoption of unemployment compensation laws insures an adequate reporting system. With the figures in hand we shall know how much 3 per cent will buy, and whether the rate should not be increased to 4 or 5 per cent; we shall also be able to determine on a factual basis whether the interests of the workers will be best served by lower rates of benefits for a longer period or higher rates for a shorter period. Certainly the New York waiting period should be reduced.

With New York disregarding the objection of unfair competition, although it unquestionably counted on the passage of the Federal Security Bill, we can be sure that we are on our way to reducing the hazards of unemployment for the workers. Other states will undoubtedly follow the example of these states, but federal legislation is essential if all the states are to be brought into the system with reasonable promptness and if standards are to be progressively raised. When one remembers that two-thirds of the states passed workmen's compensation laws between 1910 and 1916, but that South Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, and Mississippi still live in the dark age of employer's liability, the reason for the federal tax is clear. Moreover, the federal tax can be made the basis for the addition of national standards from time to time, so that if the federal law is sustained by the courts we should be able to develop a unified national system.

DESTITUTION IN INDUSTRIALIZED AGRICULTURE

"THE more sugar-beet acreage the more misery" was the conclusion reached some years ago in an investigation of family standards of beet workers in a state in which sugar beets are a major crop. Before 1929 the low price paid the sugar-beet workers per acre had come to mean the employment of their wives and children in order to handle a larger acre-

age, and, in spite of this, a low standard of living during the summer, and destitution or relief during the winter for many of the workers in sections where sugar beets are raised. Since 1929 supplementary work has been more difficult to secure and relief more universally needed for these low-paid seasonal workers. That misery is wide spread in another industrial type of agriculture must now be recognized. Onion growing on reclaimed peat and muck land of Ohio and Indiana may be profitable to the growers who have vast tracts planted to this crop, but not to the laborers or to the state.

National attention was called to their condition, when in June, 1934, a group of onion workers in Hardin County, Ohio, undertook to improve their own working conditions. They organized a union, known as the Agricultural Union of Onion Workers, applied for and were granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor. They then struck for wages of 35 cents an hour and an eight-hour day. The growers refused to recognize them and found plenty of unemployed workers who were willing to work for 15 cents an hour—an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour over the pre-strike level.

The report of an investigation recently made by the United States Departments of Labor and of Agriculture and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration makes discouraging reading. A prevailing wage of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour during what is always a short season, the "typical home . . . a rough wooden shack, unplastered and with cracks between the boards," "tin roofs which offer little protection against snow and frost in the winter" and are "exceedingly hot in the summer," "several women interviewed without shoes, children kept from going to school because they lack shoes and clothing," "no prenatal care for women on the marsh," and three-fourths of the families on relief are among the reported findings.

Some years ago, following an investigation of the employment of children in the onion fields of Ohio, the Bing Law, which made a beginning in the regulation of the employment of children in agriculture, was passed. But children are still working in the muck fields of Hardin County. The investigators found that last year one out of every ten workers was under fourteen and two out of every ten, sixteen years of age. While child labor is not the root evil here, the employment of children keeps down the wage rate and stabilizes the families on a destitution level.

Some method of preventing the serious exploitation of the men, women, and child workers in these types of agriculture must be discovered. We are peculiarly responsible for conditions among the beet-sugar workers, as this industry was started with a federal bonus and nurtured by a high

tariff tax, which collected something like two dollars per capita to keep the industry going. It is to be hoped that the processing tax on sugar which the Department of Agriculture is now administering is going to mean higher wages for the beet workers and that some means can be discovered for helping the onion workers of the Great Lakes area. In the past the Department of Agriculture has considered only crops and profits. Under the New Deal it should consider the problems of farm workers also. Organization of agricultural workers is very new in this country, and these unions will need much support and encouragement if they are to make headway even with a more favorable labor market.

HOMES FOR HOMELESS MEN IN CHICAGO

FOR many years the care of local unattached men has been the dark continent of the public welfare program. The depression has changed this situation only by throwing into sharper relief the very low level of care extended to this group and by adding to the familiar clientèle of migratory laborers a flood of men normally able to sustain themselves in boarding-houses or bachelor flats.

With a few exceptions the policy throughout the country has been to herd these dispossessed individuals into vast shelters where care could be given at a cost of approximately one dollar per man per week. Protests against this barbarous system have been voiced in increasing volume, not only by social workers and by the men themselves, but also by property-owners in the neighborhoods where these hordes of idle and dejected outcasts have been concentrated.

The inauguration of a new policy in Chicago recently has been hailed as an evidence that the long lane may at last have reached a turning. Several factors are responsible for the change. Important among them was a bulletin from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration outlining improved standards of shelter care which could not possibly be approximated in most of dilapidated warehouses that house Chicago's twenty thousand homeless men.

The new policy in Chicago contemplates the gradual transfer of the shelter clients to home relief. By mid-April 2,315 cases had already been referred to the regular district offices of the home relief services. Transfers will continue as rapidly as the district offices can assimilate them. Already one shelter has been closed. Within a few months the shelters will house only those who cannot be placed on home relief. Meantime, a strenuous effort is being made to find new shelters for the residual group that will meet the standards outlined by the F.E.R.A. It is hoped that,

with a smaller shelter population, the housing may be specialized to meet the chief categories of need, such as alcoholism, semi-invalidism, and so forth.

A "flying squad" of case workers which is combing the shelters to remove those eligible for home relief has already made discoveries that should influence other communities to re-appraise the care they are offering homeless men. One boy now only twenty-five years of age declined to leave the shelter. He had been there continuously since 1931. Some of the older men are suspicious of the new plan. "I know how it will be," declared a widower in his middle fifties. "The case workers are only interested in families. Pretty soon they'll be too busy to remember me, and I'll be left flat."

It is not surprising that, after all these years of shelter existence, self-reliance has in many cases been undermined and institutionalization has set in. The policy with respect to new cases is to place as many as possible on home relief without any intervening experience of shelter life. This policy ought to be general throughout the country.

The residual group that must remain in shelters presents many baffling problems. Efforts are now being made to work out long-time plans for these groups. It has been suggested that several new and specialized institutions are needed and that they should be built as part of the impending public works program. No such venture should be launched simply because it seems to offer a quick and easy solution. In other fields of social work great monuments of brick and mortar have impeded the development of modern methods of care. Because of these experiences there should not now be any hasty commitments. There is grave doubt whether homeless men should be set aside as a special group. Those among them who require institutional care need it, not because they are homeless, but because in common with many other citizens they suffer from some special disability such as physical illness or mental deficiency.

THE NEW YORK RELIEF MUDDLE

THE obviously unfair and partisan attack on the New York City Relief Administration has not been easy for outsiders to understand, but the main outlines of the situation seem to be clear. Almost at the time when Congress was passing the four billion work-relief act, an aldermanic investigating commission in New York City was assailing Mayor La Guardia's work-relief administration with scorn and ridicule. The *New York Times* of April 7 summarized the situation briefly by saying:

Critics of the relief administration sneered at the college professors who have been directing projects for white-collar workers; they contended that from the lips of the administration's own workers they had obtained proof that the administration had been spendthrift. Supporters of the relief workers retorted that the investigators had suppressed favorable facts and had seized upon inconsequential matters wholly for the purpose of muddling the public.

There was much testimony to catch public attention—evidence that out-of-towners got jobs from relief officials and that groups of workers had been duplicating each other's efforts. But the items in which the most public interest was manifested were the projects on which the white-collar needy have been working.

Every effort was made to heap ridicule upon such things as "boon doggles" and "profile maps of Malta and Gozo," and the counsel for the aldermanic committee described many white-collar projects as "bunk and junk." But the following quotations (taken from the *New York Times*) of statements by men well known in social work throw some light on the situation:

William Hodson, welfare commissioner: "The projects are of inestimable social value to the entire population of the city; they give employment to 35,000 men and women, mostly of the professional classes, who otherwise would be in a most serious predicament or on the dole."

Robert Moses, park commissioner: "You cannot expect an office worker to do the work of an unskilled construction laborer."

Harry L. Hopkins, federal relief administrator: "It's easy to tack funny names on scientific projects and jeer at them. But a lot of those who are doing it are making fun of these white-collar projects because they want direct relief instead of work relief."

Colonel William J. Wilgus, director of the city's Works Division: "If projects were not provided for white-collar workers money 'would necessarily be used in keeping these worthy people on the dole and in suppressing disorders that might follow such an inhuman course.'"

The United Neighborhood Houses through their representatives who came from forty-three of the most important Settlements in New York City passed a resolution saying that "the aldermanic committee and its counsel are presenting a distorted picture, blackening the reputations of able and fine people and destroying the morale of workers who are struggling against adverse conditions to develop a system of relief humanely administered along sound social lines" (*New York Times*, April 7).

The resolution adopted by the United Neighborhood Houses also said that relief in New York City had been handled "with intelligence, with

humanity and efficiency," and that "the Works Division has stimulated a splendid program of educational, cultural, recreational and health activities vitally needed by the community."

Settlement workers more than any other group of social workers know what is happening to people on relief. They are in a position to observe the effectiveness or shortcomings of the relief program and policies, and the resolutions correctly said that they were "in close contact with families in distress."

The general conduct of the investigation is dealt with in an important editorial in the *New York Times*, April 6, 1935, headed "Abuses of Inquiry," in which the *Times* said that "the right of inquiry into the conduct of public affairs is indisputable, the Legislatures, or Congress may at any time take on the guise of a Grand Inquisitor and appoint committees to look into the dark places of bureaucracy or business usurping the powers of government." But the *Times* editorial adds that while "all this is unquestionable" and may be looked upon as "an essential and wholesome part of democratic government," there is always

one danger to be guarded against. It is that the demand for a public inquiry be given a passionate and almost malevolent turn. Men are condemned on suspicion before they have had a chance to have their case heard. Partisan motives are injected where only a calm desire to bring out the facts and to inflict righteous punishment should exist. Just now the cry for an investigation of the relief funds, and of all who had to do with them, has reached a high pitch. Before it gets beyond limits, reasonable men should have the courage to point out that there is such a thing as an abuse even in exposing abuses, and that the fundamental rights of men under accusation should be as carefully preserved as the power of the Government to inquire into the acts and punish the delinquencies of every man in its service, or engaged in a business affected by a public interest.

Social workers are glad to know that Mr. Hodson's illness is not serious and will regret that a new relief "czar" has been named—Mr. Oswald Knauth, formerly professor of economics at Princeton and later an executive for a large business in New York City—who has announced that "horse-sense" will be used in the affairs of the Relief Administration.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE STILL BARBARIC

THE recent hanging of a man in Kentucky in a semi-public place was widely reported by the Associated Press and warns us again of the medieval character of much of our criminal justice. An English journalist writing about a spectacular English case said that "if it could be brought home to us all that a man is being strangled while we are eating our bacon

and eggs, I believe there would be a general revolt of feeling against this barbarous custom." But unfortunately this is one of the most tortoise-like of all our social reforms, and morbid excitement continues to be aroused by hangings. Our miserable prisons and our systems of prison and convict labor continue to horrify us when they are exposed as they were so recently by the North Carolina chain-gang revelation. In the same Ohio prison in which 320 men died in their cells during the terrible Easter Monday fire of 1930, one thousand Ohio convicts recently walked away from their machines in four prison workshops to protest passively against policies of the state parole board.

On April 4 in the English House of Lords a poor farm laborer sat in a gallery between two warders while the noble peers of England decided his fate. He had virtually abandoned all hope of living when the lords decided the trial court had misdirected the jury. This is said to have been the first time in English legal history when the lords had set aside a death sentence (*New York Times*, April 6). The prisoner who had almost given up hope stood as if stupefied when the Lord Chancellor ordered his release. It was twenty minutes before he could understand that he was free.

Unfortunately, very few social workers have any part in the administration of criminal justice. If they had, it is almost inconceivable that the present iniquitous system should continue.

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

RECENT statistics issued by the Association of Schools of Social Work show a substantial measure of progress. The twenty-nine member-schools reported a total registration of 2,704 full-time and 4,164 part-time students during the academic year 1933-34. When students taking special non-credit courses and those "not majoring in social work but who took one or more courses" are counted, the final total is 8,912. The "turn-over" is large, however, for many students remain only for one quarter or one semester, and there are many part-time students.

The total registration in the Association schools as of November 1, 1934, was 2,712 full-time and 2,547 part-time students—a total of 5,259 professional students in the field of social work. The large registration of part-time students was reported chiefly from the metropolitan centers, and obviously indicated courses offered for emergency relief workers.

On November 1, 1934, there were 492 full-time men students (18.1 per cent of the total), and 369 part-time men students (14.5 per cent of the total). That is, there were 861 men students all told, constituting 16.3 per cent of the total enrolment. Three schools, two of which are located in women's colleges, registered no men students at all.

It is encouraging that 1,940 of the 2,712 full-time students of last November—nearly three-fourths of the total—were graduate students.

The discouraging feature of the report is the fact that a small percentage of the large number of students remain to complete the prescribed course of study. During the academic year 1933-34 there were 719 students who received degrees, diplomas, or certificates, when 2,704 full-time and 4,164 part-time students were registered. Moreover, many of these students were only completing an undergraduate program as the following statistics indicate.

SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS WHO RECEIVED DEGREES,
DIPLOMAS, OR CERTIFICATES, 1933-34

Degree	Total	Men	Women
B.A. or B.S.....	299	16	283
M.A., M.S.....	146	19	127
Ph.D.....	4	3	1
Diplomas or certificates.....	270	31	239
Total.....	719	69	650

That is, only about one-fourth of the full-time students registered in 1933-34 completed any kind of program, graduate or undergraduate. These numbers are not encouraging.

Another item of interest about the Association of Schools is that a grant from the Macy Foundation has made possible a series of visits to each of the twenty-nine schools holding membership in the Association. Dr. Mildred Mudgett, secretary of the Association, is making the rounds of the schools for purposes of inspection and advice in the hope that it may be possible for at least a one-year graduate program to be developed in each member-school.

WILL GERMANY'S SOCIAL SERVICES SURVIVE?

ALTHOUGH the past two years have shown consistent attempt in Germany to destroy the fabric of social welfare created under or shaped according to the ideals of the Weimar Constitution, there is evidence that the entire structure has not been wrecked and indeed that there is some slight progress in certain directions. The strength and inherent soundness of the Social Democratic program are apparent from its persistence in spite of the violent disruption of the trade unions, the persecution of liberals of various political denominations as well as of Jews, and the systematic break-down of professional social-work standards.

It is hard to evaluate social progress at any time on the basis of printed material only and doubly so under present German conditions where scientific statement is apparently subject to political review. Discounting propagandist or political motives, however, there seems to be some advance in the fields of social insurance and child welfare. This consists mainly in effort to unify and consolidate existing legislation or institutions.

In the field of child welfare, administrative and executive orders of May and July, 1934, for codification of family and inheritance legislation improve the status of the illegitimate child in respect to right of name and obligation of paternal and maternal relatives for his support. Trends in social insurance are toward unification of the entire structure. Administrative orders in effect on the first day of 1935 provide for consolidation of the various branches of sickness insurance that have retained their separate identity because of the historical accident of their long existence prior to the enactment of the federal sickness insurance law of 1894. The division of sickness insurance into these numerous branches has meant administrative waste; but vested interests have prevented economical unification.

These same administrative orders in effect January 1, 1935, combine the sickness and annuity funds and unify local administration of accident, old-age, and health insurance. The trend toward consolidation is further indicated by the practice noted in "Nachrichtendienst des Deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge" of combining administration of the social insurance, public welfare, and public health offices in a number of localities. Since the jurisdictions of the health insurance and public health authorities have often overlapped and the insurance and public welfare offices have had to work out careful rules for clearance of cases, the tendency toward consolidation is a response to demand for more economical administration. Whether the unit of administration is being expanded to the point of sacrifice of constituent services, it is impossible to predict on the basis of slender experience and records.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

THE SEVENTH PAN-AMERICAN CHILD CONGRESS
OCTOBER 12-19, 1935

THE Government of the United States has been invited to participate through an official delegation in the Seventh Pan-American Child Congress, which has been called for Mexico City, October 12-19, 1935.

Among the very interesting developments in the field of international

relations is the increasing use of the conference, or congress, as a means of developing a wider unanimity of knowledge and opinion on subjects of concern to several jurisdictions. In the field of inter-American relations, the word "conference" has been used to designate the most general and authoritative gathering at which Secretaries of State or of Foreign Affairs head the delegations, and the programs include discussion and action on a wide range of political and economic questions. The word "congress," on the other hand, has been used to designate meetings likewise official, but dealing with some special and narrow field of interest, like health and sanitation, education, labor and industry, or child welfare. Of the Pan-American conferences, seven have now been held, the first in 1891 in Washington, the seventh in 1933 in Montevideo.

Of the Child Congresses six have been held—in Buenos Aires in 1916, Montevideo in 1919, Rio de Janeiro in 1922, Santiago in 1924, Habana in 1927, Lima in 1930. The United States has been represented by an official delegation at the last three. The present Chief of the United States Children's Bureau was a delegate to the Congress at Habana and headed the delegation at Lima, where, because of her knowledge of child welfare and her ability to speak eloquently in the language of the country, she played a leading and constructively helpful rôle.

The Congress of 1930, which was largely composed of pediatricians but with a fair representation of juvenile court judges, of persons concerned for the dependent child, and of school officials, was organized in sections on medicine and surgery, hygiene, social welfare and legislation; and it adopted resolutions dealing with measures for the protection of family life (there were eight of these), with dependent and delinquent children and children presenting special physical and mental problems (twelve of these), with social and health administration (there were seven of these). These resolutions, which constituted distinct goals, were important as showing the general direction toward which, in the opinion of these specialists, development of child welfare undertakings should be guided.

Largely as the result of resolutions adopted at the Second and Third Child Congresses (Montevideo, 1919, and Rio de Janeiro, 1922), there was established in 1927 in Montevideo an Inter-American Institute of Child Welfare, of which the Director has been Dr. Luis Morquio, a pediatrician of international reputation. The statutes governing the Institute were approved by the Fourth Congress (Santiago, 1924). The support of the Institute comes from the various American countries. Two thousand dollars is the amount asked from each government, and the governing

body has been composed of the official representatives of the various states at Montevideo. The Institute publishes a Bulletin and has been organized to render special service in the field of education and medicine. The Seventh Conference in Montevideo adopted a resolution urging that the delegates at Montevideo meet with the director at least once a year, that the states pay their quotas as promptly as practicable and that, at as early a date as possible, the work of the Institute be widened to include a Division of Social Service. The Congress of Lima, of 1930, fixed Mexico as the place for the next Congress and hoped that a meeting might be held in 1932. This did not prove possible, however, and the Conference of Montevideo of 1933 urged that, at an early date, a Congress might be held at which there might be discussed (1) the information resulting from scientific researches since the time of the last Congress in 1930; and (2) the place of the child in the civilization of the new day toward which the world is hopefully looking.

This formulation, together with the resolutions of the Lima Congress, will undoubtedly somewhat determine the program arranged for Mexico City.

MICHAEL PUPIN

1858-1935

THE recent death of the great scientist Michael Pupin once more reminds the social workers of this country who have been staunch supporters of a liberal immigration policy of the great contribution which was made to the development of this country by the hordes of poor and almost destitute immigrants who came here to share in the "promise of American life." Michael Pupin belongs to the great period when protection of the "right of asylum" was a national ideal and a national tradition and "free immigration" was still America's policy. Landing a penniless boy at Castle Garden, he became one of the world's greatest scientists. While professor of electro-mechanics at Columbia University he wrote his well-known work *From Immigrant to Inventor*, and the social workers who stood firmly for the rights of the immigrants read with appreciation and new hope the beautifully written chapters in which he told of the poverty-stricken home in which he was reared. He described the simple village life in the Serbian village on the old Austrian frontier. These Serbian peasants were illiterate, but they had character, which is more important than education; and as they handed down the stories of their great Serb heroes in the village gatherings in the evening twilight, they developed the traditions of courage, generosity, honesty, and self-sacrifice among their children.

The Episcopalian Bishop of New York, speaking at the services in memory of Professor Pupin said, very appropriately, "The great things which he accomplished and the honors which deservedly came to him in the New World never made him unmindful of his friends in the Old World or forgetful of those among whom he lived as a shepherd boy on the plains of Serbia; and he proved his loyalty by acts of sacrifice and devotion which few have equaled."

THE "MIND THAT FOUND ITSELF"

A TWENTY-FIFTH anniversary edition of Clifford Whittingham Beer's epoch-making book has just been issued and will be welcomed by social workers who so often pay tribute to the founder of the modern mental-hygiene movement. The anniversary edition¹ contains an appendix which follows this movement from its initial stages.

In presenting Mr. Beers at a twenty-fifth anniversary dinner in his honor, Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman said:

What a career Clifford Beers has had! He surely, of all men, is the "happy warrior." From the nadir of human life he has been moving steadily toward its zenith. He has "hitched his wagon to a star." 'Tis great causes that ennoble men and render them illustrious. Not only has Clifford Beers devoted himself heart and soul to one of the highest and noblest of humanitarian reforms, but it was he himself who in early manhood conceived that cause, and who, in the years that followed, by the exercise of rare qualities of heart and mind and will, drew into co-operation with himself for its realization hosts of men and women in America and throughout the world.

Social workers will find a challenge to greater courage and greater faith in their objectives in the following statement made by Mr. Beers at the dinner: "One of the most stimulating things about the early years of my work was the widespread disbelief in its probable success. This skepticism was inspiring."

But he always had distinguished and enthusiastic supporters. At the time when his book was front-page news, William James wrote him, "Your work will begin to produce results after the newspapers have forgotten you." Professor James, who was both friend and counselor to Mr. Beers, foresaw that his work was to include not only the authorship of a remarkable book about his own mental breakdown and recovery but persistent and resourceful leadership in the mental-hygiene movement.

¹ Clifford W. Beers, *A Mind That Found Itself: An Autobiography*, twenty-fifth anniversary ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1935). \$2.50.

"ABOLISH THE PAUPER LAWS"

JUST one year ago in the June number of this *Review*, attention was called to the case of *Town of Plymouth v. Hey*, a Massachusetts case concerning an illegitimate child, decided in the high court of Massachusetts on the basis of certain legislation of 1692. This month, attention is called to another New England case, *Town of Plainville v. Town of Milford* (177 Atlantic 128), in which the Supreme Court of Errors of the state of Connecticut decided what should be done about the support of a destitute transient by quoting from the legislation of that state in the years 1667, 1682, 1702, 1784, 1792. The learned court pointed out that the origin of the statutory provisions regarding settlement "is found in an act of the general court passed in 1667 upon complaint to the court that 'divers persons have thrust themselves into the several Plantations of this Colony to the unjust disturbance of the same'"; that "a further provision in 1682 was directed against the importation into a town of transients, servants, or tenants, 'such persons often proving vicious and burthensome and chargeable.'" Not only the colonial laws but some thirty different decisions of the courts are cited in imposing array. For what purpose? Not to determine the best and wisest method of care for this unfortunate and destitute young man but to decide whether he had a settlement in the Town of Plainville or the Town of Milford and who was to pay the cost of his miserable shelter. The cost was multiplied many times by the services of the lawyers and the courts in this surviving seventeenth-century method of providing for those in need. The time has come to abolish the pauper laws of seventeenth-century colonial days and substitute a twentieth-century social welfare program.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND
THE SCOTTSBORO CASES

THE readers of the *Review* will be greatly interested in the action of the United States Supreme Court in reviewing for a second time the so-called Scottsboro Cases.

It will be recalled that in March, 1931, a group of Negro boys in Alabama were indicted, charged with the crime of rape committed upon the persons of two white girls. The indictment was returned in the state court on March 31, 1931, and the boys plead "not guilty." They were divided into three groups and tried separately; each of the three trials was completed within a single day. Under the Alabama statute the punishment of this offense is fixed by the jury and may be from ten days' imprisonment

to death. The jurors found the defendants all guilty and imposed the death penalty upon all of them.

Motions for new trial were over-ruled, and the defendants were all sentenced in accordance with the verdicts. The judgments were likewise affirmed by the state Supreme Court, with one very able strongly dissenting opinion (that of Chief Justice Anderson). Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the judgments of the lower court were assailed on the ground of denial of due process of law and equal protection in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment. Specifically, it was alleged that the defendants were not given a fair, impartial, and deliberate trial; that they were all denied the right of counsel with the accustomed consultation and opportunity for preparation; that they were tried before juries from which qualified members of their own race were systematically excluded.

On November 17, 1932, the Supreme Court, after a lengthy statement in which attention was especially given to the nature of the right of an accused person to benefit from the services of able and qualified counsel, with whom the defendants would have the opportunity to confer and who would himself be able to give full preparation for trial, reversed the Alabama courts.¹ The opinion of the court, which was delivered by Mr. Justice Sutherland, constitutes a learned statement of the nature of the right to counsel, the history of the recognition of that right, both under the English and the American criminal law, and especially the effects of its denial in cases more or less analogous to that under discussion. The closing paragraph of the opinion is so clear and able a statement that it justifies being quoted at length.

The United States by statute and every state in the Union by express provision of law, or by the determination of its courts, make it the duty of the trial judge, where the accused is unable to employ counsel, to appoint counsel for him. In most states the rule applies broadly to all criminal prosecutions, in others it is limited to the more serious crimes, and in a very limited number, to capital cases. A rule adopted with such unanimous accord reflects, if it does not establish the inherent right to have counsel appointed at least in cases like the present, and lends convincing support to the conclusion we have reached as to the fundamental nature of that right.

On the basis of this theory the judgments of the Alabama courts were reversed, and the causes were remanded for further proceedings not in-

¹ *Ozie Powell, Willie Roberson, Andy Wright, and Olen Montgomery v. Alabama; Haywood Patterson v. Same; Charley Weems and Clarence Norris v. Same*, 287 United States Reports 45 (1932.)

consistent with the opinion. It should be noted that Mr. Justice Butler and Mr. Justice McReynolds dissented from the majority view of the case.

As a result of this decision on the part of the Supreme Court, a motion for a change of venue was granted, and the cases were transferred from Jackson County, to Morgan County, Alabama.

The case of one of the defendants, Clarence Norris, has again gone by an analogous route to the Supreme Court. Norris was brought to trial in November, 1933, and a motion was made on his behalf to quash the indictment on the grounds of exclusion of Negroes from juries in Jackson County, where the indictment was found. The motion was denied. The defendant was again found guilty. The verdict was again sustained by the Supreme Court of the State, and has again (April 1, 1935) been passed on by the Supreme Court of the United States.² This time Mr. Chief Justice Hughes delivers the opinion, and this time the judgment is again reversed and the cause is remanded for further proceedings. This time the emphasis is, however, being laid upon the fact that, although it is shown that there are in Alabama competent Negroes, capable of serving upon grand and petit juries, they have been consistently excluded from such service. The argument in this case, which is devoted to a considerable extent to the question of whether or not there is evidence of the presence in Alabama of Negroes qualified to serve, is less interesting in some respects than the arguments in the earlier opinion, but it is, of course, a more distressing evidence of the consistent influence of racial prejudice seventy years after the close of the war in which the South submitted the issue of slavery to the arbitrament of war. There was no dissenting opinion in this case, but Mr. Justice McReynolds did not hear the evidence.

These decisions recall the so-called Arkansas cases,³ in which, in 1923, the Supreme Court took notice of the hideous travesty on justice perpetrated by the Arkansas courts when a group of Negro share-croppers were trying to find some protection against their exploiters and were the victims of violent attack and then suffered in the denial of every item in the bill of rights. In the case of these defendants under the guidance of Mr. Moorfield Storey, the Court found itself able to distinguish the situation from that of Leo Frank,⁴ a Jew who was the victim of the mob spirit in Atlanta, in which it had not seemed possible for the Supreme Court to

² See *New York Times*, April 2, 1935.

³ *Moore et al v. Dempsey, Keeper of the Arkansas State Penitentiary*, 261 U.S. 86 (1923).

⁴ *Frank v. Mangum*, 237 U.S. 309 (1915).

assume jurisdiction. In the Arkansas cases, Justice Holmes, who had dissented in the Frank case, wrote the opinion. Then Justice Sutherland, who wrote the opinion of the Court in the first Scottsboro case, dissented with Justice McReynolds, who dissented in the first Scottsboro case.

Between 1915, when the Frank case was decided, and 1935, many changes have occurred in the relations of the federal government to the states, and these three decisions mark what might be called the establishment of a national minimum to the claim to justice in criminal law administration. The right to such freedom from the mob domination as gives reasonable assurance of deliberation, the right to the services of counsel under circumstances making it possible for the counsel truly to know the case and to secure to the client "his day in court," and the presence on the jury of those, if not "of the vicinage" as in the days when juries came into being, at least of the same social, economic, or racial group, so that a universally shared prejudice may not prevail—these are the beads already on this rosary of faith that a truly national standard of justice will ultimately be established and maintained.

It is, for example, interesting to note that one effect of the decision in this second case has been a revision of the jury lists in Alabama to include Negroes.⁵ The Governor, Hon. Bibb Graves, wrote to the judges and solicitors throughout the state to the effect that "names of Negroes must be put in jury boxes in every county in the state." With reference to pending cases, he advised, if the point was raised, that the case be continued or nolle prossed until the constitutional requirements could be met. In other southern states, notice is being taken of the implications of the decision.

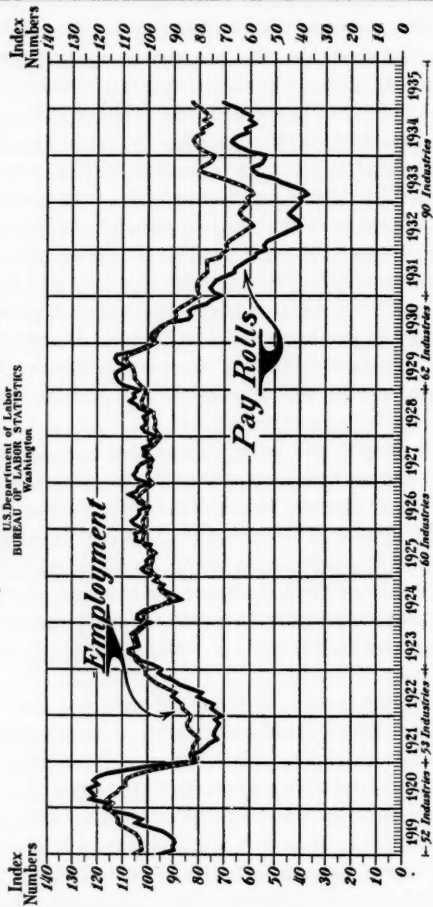
In recalling the decision of the first Scottsboro case, the social worker will take note of the general movement toward the establishment of the office of public defender. This decision is interesting not only for its federal-state aspect but also because of the content poured into the idea of the service to be expected from the right to counsel. The whole question of when the defendant is really defended takes on a new aspect. President Hoover used to say that law-enforcement, like relief-giving, belonged to the local jurisdiction. The United States Supreme Court does not deny this but insists that such local administration, to result in valid findings, must be characterized by certain features of elementary justice that are of national if not of universal concern.

⁵ *New York Times*, April 6, 1935.

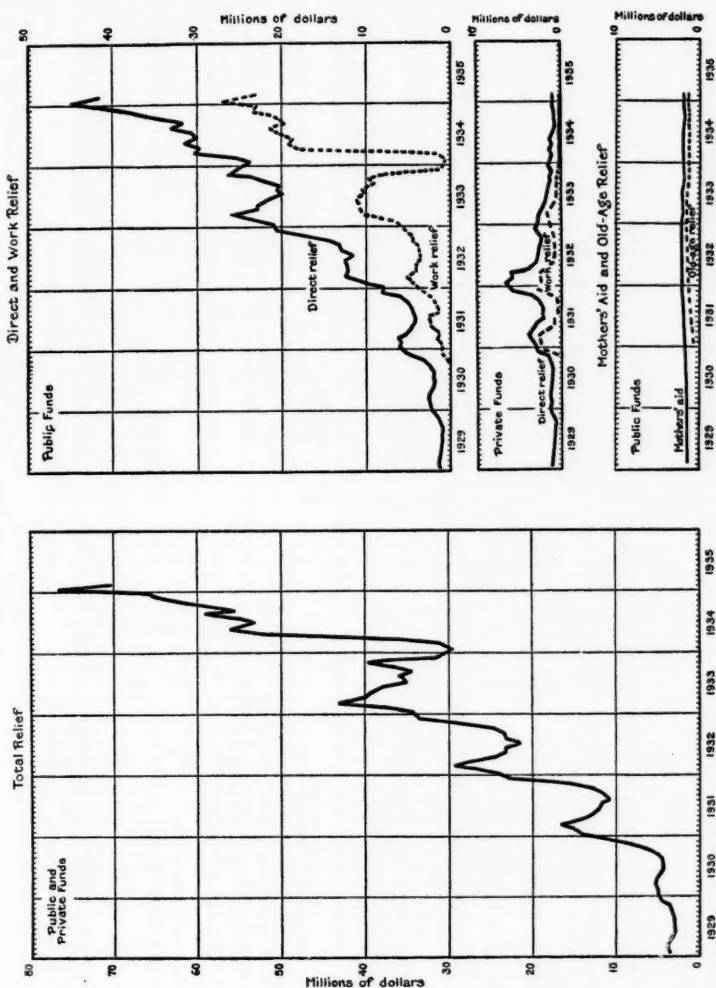
EMPLOYMENT & PAY ROLLS in the MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

3 year average 1923-1925-100

U.S. Department of Labor
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
Washington



RELIEF EXPENDITURES IN 120 URBAN AREAS
U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau



SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY BILL RELATING TO UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION*

(H. R. 7269 as passed by the House of Representatives, April 19, 1935)

FEDERAL TAX UPON EMPLOYERS (TITLE IX)

Coverage (Sec. 907c)

Employers of ten or more employees within 20 weeks of any year, except the following employments:

1. Agricultural labor.
2. Domestic service in a private home.
3. Service as officer or member of the crew of a vessel on the navigable waters of the United States.
4. Service performed by an individual in the employ of his son, daughter or spouse or by a child under 21 years in the employ of his father or mother.
5. Public employees.
6. Employees of religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational institutions which are non-profit.

Rates (Sec. 901)—1936—1%; 1937—2%; 1938 and thereafter—3%.

Credit Allowed for Payments to State Unemployment Compensation Plans (Sec. 902)

Not to exceed 90% of Federal tax.

Conditions Required of State Unemployment Plans for Allowance of Credit (Sec. 903a)

1. Compensation to be paid through public employment offices;
2. No compensation to be payable until after two years;
3. State unemployment fund to be deposited with the Unemployment Trust Fund of the United States Treasury;
4. State fund to be used exclusively for unemployment compensation;
5. Compensation not to be denied any eligible individual for refusal to accept work if (1) the position vacant is due to a strike, lockout, or labor dispute, (2) the wages, hours, or conditions of work are substantially less favorable to the individual than those prevailing in the locality, or (3) if the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining a bona fide labor organization;
6. State must retain the right to repeal or modify its system;
7. The State unemployment compensation fund must be a general, state-wide, pooled fund. (Sec. 907e)

Revocation of Approval of State Plans (Sec. 903b)

The Social Security Board may at the end of any year refuse to certify any State whose plan has been previously approved in case the State law has been changed so that it no longer complies with the above conditions, or if the State has failed to comply substantially with these conditions.

Unemployment Trust Fund (Sec. 904)

All moneys received in the State unemployment fund must be deposited in the Federal Unemployment Trust Fund maintained by the United States Treasury, subject to requisition of the State. The Secretary of the Treasury has no discretion to refuse to pay out funds requisitioned by a State. These funds are invested by the Treasury and bear interest at the average rate paid by the United States upon all interest-bearing obligations. A separate account is maintained for each State.

FEDERAL GRANTS TO THE STATES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION (TITLE III)

Amount Federal Appropriation Authorized (Sec. 301)

Fiscal year ending June 30, 1936—\$4,000,000; thereafter—\$49,000,000 annually

Amount of Grants to Each State (Sec. 302a)

"Such amount as the Social Security Board determines to be necessary for the proper administration of the State plan," taking into account:

1. Population of the State;
2. Number of persons covered by State law and the cost of proper administration thereof;
3. Such other factors as the Board finds relevant.

State Matching Required

None. It is anticipated that the Federal grants will cover the entire administrative costs.

Conditions Required of State Unemployment Compensation Administration to Receive Federal Grants (Sec. 303a)

1. "Such methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel) as are found by the Board to be reasonably calculated to insure full payment of unemployment compensation when due; and
2. "Payment of unemployment compensation solely through public employment offices in the State; and
3. "Opportunity for a fair hearing, before an impartial tribunal, for all individuals whose claims for unemployment compensation are denied; and
4. "The payment of all money received in the unemployment fund of such State, immediately upon such receipt, to the Secretary of the Treasury to the credit of the Unemployment Trust Fund established by section 904; and
5. "Expenditure of all money requisitioned by the State agency from the Unemployment Trust Fund, in the payment of unemployment compensation, exclusive of expenses of administration;"
6. The making of reports to the Social Security Board.
7. Making available the employment records of individuals to any agency of the United States charged with the administration of public works or assistance.

Revocation of Grants (Sec. 303b)

If the Social Security Board finds, after notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency, either (1) that a substantial number of persons entitled to compensation are being denied compensation, or (2) that the State has failed to comply substantially with the Federal law, it may refuse to make further payments until such matters are rectified.

* From Committee on Economic Security, 72d New York Assembly, N. Y., 1935. (As passed by the House of Representatives, April 19, 1935)

subject to requisition of the State. The Secretary of the Treasury has no discretion to refuse to pay out funds requisitioned by a State. These funds are invested by the Treasury and bear interest at the average rate paid by the United States upon all interest-bearing obligations. A separate account is maintained for each State.

* From Committee on Economic Security, 734 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.
(As passed by the House of Representatives, April 19, 1935)

	OLD AGE ASSISTANCE	AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN	MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH	CRIPPLED CHILDREN	CHILD WELFARE	PUBLIC HEALTH
Federal appropriation available July 1, 1935	\$49,750,000	\$4,750,000	\$3,800,000	\$2,850,000	\$1,500,000	\$3,000,000
Sections of Social Security Bill (inclusive)	1-6	401-406	501-505	511-515	521	601-603
Federal Agency	Social Security Board		Children's Bureau			Public Health Service
Amount of aid to States and basis of allotment	(a) Not to exceed 50% of total payments; payments in excess of \$10 per month for person aged 65 years or older not to be counted in determining Federal aid. (b) 5% of total payments for administration and/or assistance.	Not to exceed 33 1/3% of total payments; payments in excess of \$10 per month for person aged 16 years or older not to be counted in determining Federal aid.	(a) \$10,000 to each State (b) \$1,500,000 allotted in proportion to live births in each State on basis of need of individual State.	\$20,000 allotted to each State; remainder allotted on basis of need, taking into account children in need of such service and the cost thereof.	\$10,000 allotted to each State; remainder allotted in proportion to rural population.	Entire sum allotted on basis of (1) population, (2) special health problems, (3) special health problems, and (4) special health problems, after consultation with the State health authorities.
State matching required	(a) —50% (b) —Not required	66 2/3%	(a) and (b) —50% (c) —Not required	50%	Not required	Not required.
Method of making allotments	Al allotments made quarterly on basis of estimated expenditures and investigations by the Federal agency.	Assistance to child under 16 years living with enumerated relatives in a residence maintained as a home.	Assistance in promoting health of mothers and children.	Services to crippled children or to children suffering from conditions leading to crippling.	Allotted annually.	Allotted annually.
Definitions	1. A State plan. For old age assistance and aid to dependent children, the plan must be State-wide, and if administered by local subjects must be approved by the State. 2. A State agency must be appointed or designated to administer or to supervise the administration. For maternal and child health, the State health agency must be used. 3. Financial participation by the State. 4. Methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure, and compensation of personnel) found necessary for the efficient operation of the plan. 5. The submission of reports in such form and containing such information as may be prescribed by the Federal agency.	6. Persons denied assistance must be permitted to appeal to the State agency. 7. One-half of any recovery by the State from the recipient or his estate to be paid to the United States. 8. After January 1940 State law or a State law must be in effect for a period of not over 65 years, but until then a 70 year limit is permissible. 9. State residence requirements may not exceed 5 years within last 9 years. One year of residence immediately preceding application may be required. 10. Citizens of the United States may not be disqualified, as, for example, by a requirement of 10 years of citizenship.	6. Provides for the extension and improvement of local maternal and child health services administered by local units. 7. Provides for cooperation with medical, health, nursing, and welfare organizations and with agencies charged with vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped children. 8. Provides for development of demonstration services in needy areas and among groups in special need.	6. Provides for carrying out the purposes of the appropriation. 7. Provides cooperation with medical, health, nursing, and welfare organizations and with agencies charged with vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped children.	6. Provides for carrying out the purposes of the appropriation. 7. Provides cooperation with medical, health, nursing, and welfare organizations and with agencies charged with vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped children.	The only conditions are those involved in the purposes of the act, which are to assist States "in establishing and maintaining adequate public-health services, including the training of personnel for State and local health work."
Conditions for approval of State plans						

NOTE: In case of the failure of a State with an approved plan to comply substantially with the provisions of the law, the Federal agency may withhold further payments, but is required to give notice and opportunity for hearing to the State agency, except for child welfare and public health aids.
The Social Security Bill also authorizes an appropriation of \$84,100 for grants to the States for vocational rehabilitation under the provisions of existing law.
* From Committee on Economic Security, 734 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Public Assistance. By JOHN J. CLARKE. London: Pitman, 1934. Pp. viii + 264 + xxix. 6s.

"Handbooks for Public Assistance Officers." I. *Settlement and Removal.* Pp. 176. 3s. 10d. II. *The Lunacy and Mental Treatment Acts, 1890 to 1930.* Pp. 189. 6s. 9d. By E. J. LIDBETTER. London: Law and Local Government Publications, 1932-33.

The Public Assistance Annual, 1934-35. London: Law and Local Government Publications, 1935. Pp. 369. 4s.

The "Needs Test" for Unemployment Insurance Transitional Payments and Public Assistance. By IRVINE HUBERT DEARNLEY. London: Shaw & Sons, 1931. Pp. 62. 2s.

"Disallowed": *The Tragedy of the Means Test.* By EDWARD WARBURTON and CARL BUTLER. London: Wishart & Co., 1935. Pp. vii + 160. 1s.

The Legacy of the Rural Guardians; A Study of Conditions in Mid-Essex. By GEORGE CUTTLE. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1934. Pp. viii + 384. 15s.

These volumes all throw light on present-day problems of poor-law organization and administration in Great Britain.

Under the new title *Public Assistance*, Mr. John J. Clarke has brought together the relevant sections from his compact little book on *Social Administration Including the Poor Laws*, which has been a convenient handbook for many years. In his new volume Mr. Clarke tries to set out in similarly brief and convenient compass the changes brought about in the poor law by the Local Government Act of 1929 which abolished the Board of Guardians and transferred their duties to Public Assistance Committees, to be set up by the County Councils. The publishers describe *Public Assistance* as "a textbook for students for the examinations of the Poor Law Examining Board and other bodies and for the staffs of public assistance authorities, members of the various public assistance committees and others." The book is very concise in its method of presentation and discussion of poor-law principles and sets out briefly but clearly the relation of the poor-law authorities to the care of children, to mental treatment and mental deficiency, the subjects of Settlement, Irremovability and Removal, the new provision for Unemployment Assistance, and various related subjects.

The author of the two Public Assistance Handbooks, Mr. Lidbetter, has been connected with English Poor-Law Administration for many years, first as super-

intendent relieving officer to the Bethnal Green Board of Guardians and more recently with the Public Assistance Department of the London County Council. These little handbooks will undoubtedly be useful to the public assistance officers in England who administer relief on a very rigid legalistic basis. Take, for example, this account of a standardized English procedure of investigation:

The question of "removability" arises only after the destitute person becomes chargeable. The next step is to determine whether this person has the status of "Irremovability." Having satisfied himself that the relief applicant is not irremovable the officer will next proceed to inquire as to the place of settlement. In this the greatest care must be exercised. First the officer should examine the recipient of relief, making notes as to the places at which he has resided, the conditions (as to rent, etc.) under which the several places of residence were occupied by him, with appropriate observations as to the interruptions of residence and the numerous other matters upon which settlement depends. In making such examinations care should be taken to record all relevant circumstances, such as the receipt of relief, or periods of treatment in hospital, bearing in mind that in practice settlement resolves itself into a question of evidence, and in particular, corroborative evidence.

In the administration of the English Poor Law or Public Assistance the methods of modern social work seem very conspicuous by their absence. However, both of the Lidbetter Handbooks are concise and competent statements of the present Public Assistance statute on the subjects indicated.

The *Public Assistance Annual* is a well-known English publication, now in its twenty-ninth year. It has some of the features of an almanac—with lists of officials in the Ministry of Health, of the Inspectors and Auditors and quite detailed lists of Public Assistance offices in the different English counties. There is also a digest of some recent important Poor Law cases. The second half of the book, which is more like a Poor-Law officers manual, has a very useful section on "Official Opinions and Decisions."

Mr. Dearnley's book on *The "Needs Test"* contains a brief summary of the provisions in the English Poor-Law statutes and orders relating to the "relief of the able-bodied unemployed" and especially the application of the "Needs Test" to the unemployed who have exhausted their claim to unemployment insurance benefits. By regulations made under the National Economy Act of 1931 the ordinary unemployment insurance benefit was restricted to a period of twenty-six weeks, after which time the insured unemployed man would not be eligible for "transitional benefit" but would "continue to receive assistance in cash up to same rates" if he showed that he was "in need of assistance." The new procedure referred the insured unemployed man or woman who had "run out of benefit" to the Public Assistance Authority "to assess their need and to determine the amount payable (not exceeding the rate for ordinary benefit)."

An attempt is made to set out all the hardships of the Means Test in the little book called *Disallowed*, which narrates the "actual experiences" of two official "investigators."

The story is inevitably a very drab one, drab streets, drab courts, and "drab

pinched faces," but the important question for social workers is how the system may be improved. The labor demand for "work or maintenance" for every citizen is an entirely just demand but it is one not likely to be granted by the British government (or our own) in the near future. Just how the poor live is too rarely faced by the comfortable or well-to-do sections of the community. Social workers know only too well the hardships and misery of those in the low economic levels and the courage with which these hardships are faced week in, week out, year in and year out. These miseries are not merely "the tragedy of the Means Test," they are the tragedy of the stagnant wage levels. But the Means Test is of course an exacerbation of these difficulties. One of the objections to an insurance system is that it involves a Means Test for those not provided for by the insurance funds. The British Labour party in the famous Memorandum to the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance¹ advocated the abolition of contributions by workers and the grant of benefits to all unemployed instead of restricting benefits to those eligible under the contributory insurance system; in other words "work or maintenance" without regard to whether or not the person in need has exhausted his statutory unemployment insurance benefits or not, and what of the new Unemployment Act of 1934? The prefatory note in the "Disallowed" volume condemned the new act before the collapse of the system described in the last issue of this magazine.² But while the system will remain far from the "work or maintenance" ideal for a long time to come, the author of the Prefatory Note is undoubtedly wrong in condemning the *national* authority created by the new act. One of the root difficulties of the new act is not that it is *national* in character but that it is so rigidly administered by untrained clerks instead of being left to the wise discretion of a professionally competent group with power to vary budgets from one area to another and from one family to another according to differences in need. As long as need is determined and relieved by copy book clerks, many tragedies will go on that might be prevented or mitigated by the flexible arrangements demanded by case work methods.

The study of the work of the "rural guardians" is a very careful detailed review of conditions that come before rural poor-law authorities and the method of administration from 1895 to the present time in certain rural Poor-Law Unions in the county of Essex. Changes in relief administration are shown by brief stories of actual cases found in the records over this period. Methods of selection of candidates for the position of poor-law guardians also changed over this period of time.

To an American social worker this study, like so many other detailed accounts of English poor-relief administration, shows the root difficulty of a great public social service administered by untrained clerks. The "Relieving Officers" and "Inspectors" in place of social workers have kept the English poor law from

¹ See this *Review*, VIII (June, 1934), 344.

² See this *Review*, March, 1935, pp. 83-97.

becoming a public welfare service. Take for example the chapters dealing with poor-law children, especially "children not in the House" (i.e., not under indoor relief). The care of these children who were "boarded out," managed by foster parents, in cottage homes, and over improved methods of caring for homeless children is certainly on a low level as compared with the standards of service given to such children by modern American social-work methods. The whole standard of personnel for poor-law administration apparently excludes the competent educated social-work group.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

America's Capacity To Consume. By MAURICE LEVIN, HAROLD G. MOULTON, and CLARK WARBURTON. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1934. Pp. xi+272. \$3.00.

This book is Volume II in a series "devoted to an analysis of the relation of the distribution of national wealth and income to economic progress." The first volume, *America's Capacity To Produce*, has already been issued, and the findings of that work are used in formulating the conclusions of the present volume.

Part I of this volume, consisting of 56 pages of text and 100 pages of statistical data given as an Appendix, is concerned with the national income. It attempts not only to estimate the amount of our annual income between 1900 and 1929 but to determine its distribution in 1929 by various types of claimants, wage-earners, shareholders, etc., by different geographical areas, and finally by families.

Part II, to which are devoted 44 pages of text and 30 pages of Appendix, is concerned with what is done with the income by families on different income-levels. It attempts to determine how much is spent for consumers' goods as opposed to saving at each level and how this is divided among the major classes of consumers' goods described as food, shelter, attire, and other living.

Part III relates the findings to the conclusions of the preceding volume and "considers the bearing of this analysis upon certain important current issues," such as the fear of overproduction, "the amount of leisure that is compatible with high standards of living, and the necessary length of the working day."

The first question to be asked with regard to the statistical analyses and the estimates which form the main part of the book is: "Are such elaborate analyses necessary to reach the conclusions stated in Part III?"

The conclusions are stated in six italicized sentences, of which the two following are the most important: "3. Vast potential demands alike for basic commodities and for conventional necessities exist in the unfulfilled wants of the masses of the people," and "4. The United States has not reached a stage of economic development in which it is possible to produce more than the American people as a whole would like to consume."

The first of these statements, according to the authors, is "conclusively

demonstrated by the evidence afforded by surveys of family expenditure. At each successive income level the expenditures do increase." Surely, it was not necessary to review the family expenditure data in detail or to employ elaborate statistical techniques to establish a truth so little questioned or so obvious from common observation. The unfulfilled wants of the masses of the people are all too familiar to social workers, or indeed to any one who pays attention to the world in which he lives. Why should an organization bother to prove by statistics that "the trouble is clearly not lack of desire but lack of purchasing power"?

The truth of the second of the two statements is made clear by the following summary presentation of figures:

Actual production of consumers goods, 1929.....	\$70,000,000,000
Potential production of consumers goods.....	86,000,000,000
Actual production—all goods or services.....	81,000,000,000
Potential production.....	97,000,000,000
Increase in consumption to be obtained by raising all family incomes below \$2,500 to \$2,500, no other changes....	16,000,000,000
Increase to be obtained by adding \$1,000 to every family income below \$10,000.....	27,000,000,000

The production figures in this demonstration come from the preceding volume; these figures on possible increase in consumption rest on the analyses in this volume and could not have been obtained without the estimates of family income and the amount of saving at each level. Other figures, however, that seem to the reviewer quite as good for the purpose, could have been obtained by a far simpler and less costly calculation. Presumably, no one would deny that a family's desire for consumers goods is not satiated when \$5,000 a year is spent for such goods. Suppose some means were found of giving to every one of the 27½ million families in the United States an income enough in excess of \$5,000 to let them save what they thought was necessary and still spend \$5,000 on current living. Then consumption would be increased to 137 billion dollars—an amount far in excess of our productive capacity as estimated by the Brookings Institution. Such a calculation is rough, but not too rough for the purpose. For, is it really necessary to prove by exact figures that our productive capacity is not great enough to produce all we would *like* to consume? Has anybody ever seriously contended that it was? To be sure, there has been a great deal of loose talk about the end of the "era of scarcity" and about our ability to produce "enough and more than enough for everybody"; and it is statements of this kind whose falsity this volume purports to demonstrate. It is characteristic of such statements that terms are not defined, and obviously their truth or falsity cannot be proved by statistics until the basic terms are defined. It is clear, however, that "enough" in this connection is never intended to mean all we should like but, rather, to connote all some one thinks we need. No doubt this is still too vague to give precise meaning to the statement that we can produce enough

for everybody. But the statement is not attacked by giving to its terms definitions that were obviously not in the minds of its authors, and then proving that statement false.

A second question must be raised about the statistical analyses. Although they are not necessary for drawing the conclusions reached by this book, are they valuable for other purposes, so that they can stand on their own feet? An adequate answer to this question could be given only after a careful review of all the data and all the methods by which these various estimates are obtained. For, if the figures are correct or even approximately correct, they give us information about our economic order that is extremely useful. A review of the various estimates could hardly be made in less space than was given to them in the book itself, and obviously cannot be attempted here. Perhaps it will suffice to point out that conclusions about the division of family incomes into the major categories of expenditure rest on the samples in the accompanying table.

INCOME GROUP AVERAGE	SIZE OF SAMPLE	
	1918 Data	Later Data
\$ 800.	332	122
1,300.	3,959	144
1,800.	1,594	239
2,700.	353	208
3,400.		211
5,000.		126
7,500.		45
11,000.		33
16,000.		9

It is certainly questionable whether the 1918 expenditure is to be accepted as typical of that of 1929; and most people would hesitate to draw conclusions about expenditure patterns at various income levels on the basis of the other data, one or two hundred families at each level, studied at different times, in different places, and by different organizations. For an appraisal of the statistical data the reader is advised to generalize the comment on chapter ix given in a footnote by one of the authors. "The conclusion reached . . . may be true, but it does not seem to me to be adequately supported by the data presented."

HELEN R. WRIGHT

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The Technique of Social Investigation. By C. LUTHER FRY. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1934. Pp. xii+315. \$2.50.

Frankly intended for "the use of investigators who, like most graduate students, have had little or no experience with the actual problems of social in-

quiry" this volume of 243 pages of text and 61 pages of bibliography is bound to be of service in warning them of the serious pitfalls that await the feet of the unpracticed social investigator and of those who would venture into the realm of social research. It begins with a chapter on "Planning a Study," travels over the road of conducting it to the point of "Disseminating the Findings" and ends with a review of the "Possibilities and Limitations of Social Research."

Excellent advice adorns every page. Quotations and illustrations drive home the author's points with great efficiency. Serious producers of social investigations will enjoy reading it, amateurs and dilettantes should be required to read it, while most consumers of "findings" would find in it a good insurance policy against swallowing intellectual sawdust.

Although it is the height of bad taste, if not downright unjust, on the part of a reviewer to drag in matters with which an author never intended to deal, this reviewer cannot refrain from again expressing the hope that sometime there will be a volume on methodology that will start with a body of authentic sociological knowledge and trace back its growth as that was affected by (1) the demands of the subject matter itself, that is, the phases of the subject that have beckoned men on to search them out, (2) by the development of techniques of investigation and research to get the right answers to their questions, (3) by the diffusion of purely technological improvements such as the machinery for mechanical tabulation or the instruments for recording emotional tensions, and (4) by the availability of human resources with which to work. How, in short, has the desire-to-know blended with the ways and means of finding out, within a given field of social concern?

It may be a foolish idea but somehow it would seem that, to be so driven by the desire for a scientifically-arrived-at answer to a given question or set of questions, as in turn to be driven to employ the best possible tool or method to capture the true answer, is the important element in the game. It makes no difference whether the haunting question arises in connection with a body of thought related to the practical, or perhaps one should say "actionable" affairs of the world or is still in the realm of "pure" thought. The only point is that someone should really wish so ardently to know it—whatever it is—and know it well that he will go to considerable lengths to find it out.

If that capture can be effected by the analysis of existing raw data or by employing an already invented technique to collect further data, the problem resolves itself into one of using the raw data or the technique with care and discretion and, of course, of being sufficiently versed in the whole subject to be able to pick out of existing materials and kits of tools the one that will best accomplish the purpose. But if there is no material or existing tool that one can employ, and he still really wants a definite answer to a given question, then he must bestir himself to invent a method to get and use new materials. His effort at invention may be a brilliant success or merely the rebirth of a methodological attempt long since found to be ineffectual for the purpose. Quite as tragic—but so human—is the case of the study that starts on a quest for answers to questions

pertinent to a genuine interest, fails to develop the requisite method and then contents itself with setting forth findings not on the original questions but of some others that get substituted along the way. Many a study has thus meandered far from its original purpose. Once in a great while an interesting accident happens on such excursions, but not very often.

Some inquiries have become so exhausted with the development of a technique and methodology that the employment of the tools for the actual answering of the original questions posed had to be deferred—in some cases, for extended periods!

That further study should arise out of a mastery of the existing data and with a thorough knowledge of the means of their derivation seems to the reviewer to be absolutely essential to the intelligent growth of social science and the funded data on subjects of social interest.

At the end of this book Professor Fry touches very briefly on data gathering versus theorizing and pleads eloquently for more quality and honest criticism in social studies. His book should be of considerable assistance to the people to whom it is addressed to take a substantial first step in that direction.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

The Scandinavian Unemployment Relief Program. By C. J. RATZLAFF.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. Pp. xix+211.
\$2.00.

For non-English-speaking countries far too little information has been made available to us through translation or first-hand research by students equipped to interpret social legislation and its practical results. The loss has been particularly great with respect to the three Scandinavian countries. We are indebted to Professor Ratzlaff for his study of unemployment relief in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, not so much for his outline of the methods of dealing with unemployment relief, about which we would fain know more in detail, but for his discussion of the underlying philosophies and the viewpoints of the various groups concerned in these governmental experiments. In all these countries unemployment constituted a serious problem for some years before the prosperity bubble burst in the United States.

The account is of particular interest to us in a country where unemployment relief as a governmental function had to be undertaken overnight at a time when unemployment was already at its peak, with no stable background of conviction as to the responsibility of state or national governments and their relationship to the local units, and with constant insecurity of funds and policies. After several years of experimenting with expansion of public works, work relief and the meteoric civil works program, there still remains the task of constructing a long-range plan that will provide a measure of security. The speed with which

the various measures have had to be undertaken and the fever-heat of activities have not given much room for such steady thought and discussion of the problems involved as are reflected in Dr. Ratzlaff's presentation of the developments in the Scandinavian countries.

The author points out that the three Scandinavian countries comprise areas sufficiently small and have had a degree of political stability that make possible "an approach to laboratory, experimental control so desirable in an examination of social economic measures and their results." The methods of dealing with the unemployment problem are sufficiently different to afford a valuable comparison of experiences and opinions in these three countries with very similar economic and social conditions and with a background of social democracy that has for a long time recognized unemployment as a governmental problem.

Professor Ratzlaff emphasizes the fact that these countries have a conviction that "the government should do not the least, but the most, in the field which we have traditionally regarded as the field of individual enterprise." This constitutes a fundamental difference in the approach to social and economic problems in the Scandinavian countries and in the United States. There is, he says, a critical questioning by the Swedish masses of "the social gains of that which typifies American industrial life, namely large scale production, aggressive advertising, increased output, and so forth."

In Denmark and Norway the co-ordinated unemployment-relief programs include governmentally supported unemployment insurance and public works, with direct relief supplementing the "relatively inflexible and inadequate" provisions of the two primary methods. At the time this study was made Sweden had not yet instituted a system of unemployment insurance. Direct relief is in all three countries in the form of cash.

The book includes chapters on direct relief in relation to the other features of the co-ordinated programs in the three countries; on the Danish system of unemployment insurance and on public works programs. One-third of the all-too-brief text is concerned with a very interesting discussion of the worker's viewpoint, the employer's attitude, and the position of the government in relation to the various elements of the unemployment-relief programs and proposals.

Three major conclusions of the study are of particular interest in relation to the problems now in the foreground in the United States:

1. Unemployment relief calls for a high degree of centralization in administration and an equal degree of decentralization in supervision.
2. Effective administration of public works as a relief measure is much more difficult than has been imagined.
3. Unemployment insurance can play but a very restricted rôle in periods of heavy unemployment.

EMMA O. LUNDBERG

NEW YORK STATE TEMPORARY EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

Federal Transient Program: An Evaluation Survey, May to July, 1934.

By ELLERY F. REED. New York: Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, 1934. Pp. 143. \$1.00 cloth; \$0.75 paper.

It would have been difficult to write an utterly dull report of the most thrilling piece of social work in our day, but nevertheless many social workers could have done it, and we are very grateful to Dr. Reed and his staff that their account of the federal transient program is as breathlessly exciting to everyone connected with the transient service as any detective or adventure story could be to the "fans" of such literature.

In addition to its interest, the report is remarkable for the amount and accuracy of its information, for its humane philosophy, and for the breadth and depth of its constructive suggestion. Facts regarding the transient program must have been difficult to gather in such haste, especially as the program itself was barely under way and resembled a chameleon or a Jack-and-the-bean-stalk, changing and growing as you looked at it. Yet there is but little inaccuracy in the report discovered by one who has been in the transient service from the beginning. Weaknesses and failures have been correctly analyzed, and at the same time full recognition accorded to the ability, devotion, and vision of the leaders and workers from top to bottom of the service. To them we are indebted, as the report points out, for "one of the greatest and most significant achievements in the field of social work in recent years."

Many social workers in the transient service will find their harried spirits relaxing when they read the comments of the survey on the cumbersome, intolerably involved auditing, bookkeeping, and purchasing systems, for to them it has seemed as if the business wheels of all F.E.R.A. and S.E.R.A. activities must have come to a deadlock because of their own red tape. These systems have exhausted credit, patience and confidence, eaten up money needed for food, taken the heart out of valiant workers and now show symptoms of hopeless paralysis. When Uncle Sam took up social work through the several states, it would have been well if his representatives could have learned purchasing, bookkeeping, and bill-paying methods from the American Red Cross or any other competent social agency.

The reviewer resists the temptation of an impassioned disquisition of her own, in favor of comments on the faults of the program for which social workers rather than auditors must accept the responsibility. The development of case work, of standards of material relief, of recreation and education, of medical care, and of several other phases of the program have been in the hands of social workers or subject to their influence. Sharp and just criticism is made with regard to standards of work in these departments in this report.

In this reviewer's opinion even sharper criticism should have been made with respect to certain matters. For example, the report correctly points out that standards of medical care are low, inadequate, and unconstructive. Something more than this could be said; for the policy of massing persons together as has

been done in many camps and shelters without adequate physical examination and without proper sanitation, equipment, clothing, resident medical care or provision for segregation or treatment of the sick has been a grave menace to public health. In spite of the handicaps of the federal definition of "emergency" medical care and of the financial and auditing harassments, it is inexcusable that any organization supported by federal funds should allow conditions to exist which menace public health, or should instal a substandard medical program. The survey is also a little too optimistic about the influence of case workers. In the work with men especially, expensive, stupid and inhumane mass methods of care have taken tremendous hold and will require the most vigorous sort of struggle to uproot. Here, as in the field of medical care, we were in possession of sufficient knowledge to enable us to go about the whole problem in a way which would have conserved human values rather than have tended to destroy them and which would have cost less in dollars and cents. The report points out an almost complete paucity of recreation and education, but acknowledges that little could be expected in these fields during the first year of organization when numbers were so large and the problems of physical care overwhelming.

Most of us in the employ of the transient service will be ready to acknowledge the truth of every one of the numerous defects mentioned in the report, but perhaps we shall be even more ready to accept its congratulations for our remarkable achievements and its summary of the almost unbelievable progress which we made in only seven months' time. Those of us who had knowledge of conditions among transients prior to the federal program, prior even to the depression, will fully appreciate the statement that by the end of April, 1934, "169,319 transients were receiving care far superior to any ever before afforded to this group in the United States."

The report points out that the number of transients has probably decreased since the federal service began operation, but emphasizes that a program of relief to transients alone will not solve the problems of transiency. Only improvement of conditions for youth and others the country over will decrease the number taking to the road, although it will not be possible or desirable to render the population immobile. The report gives very positive expression to the firm belief of its writers that if federal support and leadership disappear at this time, "the program would almost completely disappear and revert promptly to the pre-program status." The really invaluable portions of the report are the constructive suggestions as to improvement of every phase of work in the transient service and with broader suggestions as to a many-sided program likely to decrease transiency and improve local conditions for the youth and others making up the transient group. The suggestion regarding youth camps on page 59 is worth some careful thought and testing by at least one experiment.

If every state director, unit director, and worker in the transient service and every member of every lay advisory committee, or if only a widespread fraction of these, would study this evaluative survey and begin work along the line

of its recommendations, what miracles might we not accomplish in 1935-36. I am assuming that our government continues to give us the chance to do miracles. If it does, another survey this year would be tremendously helpful.

DOROTHY WYSOR SMITH

DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL WELFARE
TRANSIENT SERVICE, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Appeals for Funds and Hospital Publicity. By CAPTAIN J. E. STONE.
Birmingham, England: Birbeck & Sons, 1934. Pp xxviii+240. £1 1s.

Appeals for Funds and Hospital Publicity, by Captain J. E. Stone, is an extraordinarily interesting and practical book.

It is interesting for a number of reasons. The problems of finance and publicity for English hospitals are remarkably like those of American hospitals and social agencies. The procedures which are recommended by Captain Stone bear a close resemblance in procedures which have already been worked out in the United States. Many references are made to American practice in financing and publicizing hospitals, including especially recommendation of the idea of a national hospital day which has been utilized in this country for a number of years. In the brief Bibliography one-third of the references are to American books or to American magazines and reports. Quite evidently, American financial publicizing and administrative practice have had a very real influence upon British procedure along these lines.

On the other hand, the book is practical and may well influence American procedure not only for hospitals but for social agencies as well. The discussions on publicity methods, of hospital publicity including the utilization of general correspondence, the hospital staff, contacts with the public and arranging of visits—all are stimulating and suggestive.

I personally have read, I believe, most of the American books on publicity and finance for social agencies. It does not seem to me that there is anything new or original here, but that the book is a valuable compendium of information which would be suggestive for almost anyone interested in publicity or finance of social or civic work.

One of the valuable features of the Appendix is the discussion of ceremonial arrangements, including programs for the laying of foundation stones, opening of new buildings, dedication services, and addresses of welcome. Quite evidently the British do these things much better than we do. Perhaps a little more pomp and circumstance would help in affairs of this nature, although we have not the royalty and the titled persons who give special swank to some of the events described in this book.

Captain Stone is evidently well qualified to write on his subject. He is secretary of the Birmingham Hospital Center, Birmingham, was formerly chief accountant of St. Thomas' Hospital in London, and is a fellow of numerous im-

portant societies, including the Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors, the Royal Statistical Society, the Royal Economic Society, etc. He is author of *Hospital Accounts and Financial Control* and of *Hospital Organization and Management*.

The book has a number of interesting advertisements of British hospital supplies, equipment, magazines, and books. Especially suggestive, perhaps, to American financial and publicity secretaries is the advertisement of the Corporation of Certified Secretaries. This society evidently corresponds to what would be a registering agency for financial secretaries, agency executives, and publicity secretaries in this country. This corporation announces that it has now enlarged the scope of its activities and made it possible for secretaries and members of the administrative staffs of hospitals to qualify for and obtain membership of the corporation.

The attainment of the degree of certified secretary is a guarantee of ability and efficiency and one of the best means of influencing and securing progressive appointments to the hospital world. The training of the future hospital secretary is a matter requiring careful consideration. It is realized that it is necessary for the potential secretary to have a knowledge of specialized subjects. But at the same time it is of equal importance that he should also be acquainted with the general principles of secretaryship. The future of our hospitals depends not entirely upon specialized knowledge, but the most progressive appointments within the future will be secured by those who possess in addition to specialized knowledge of hospital work a knowledge of secretarial work generally, as outlined in the syllabus of examinations conducted by the Corporation of Certified Secretaries.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ELWOOD STREET

Child Guidance Clinics: A Quarter Century of Development. By GEORGE S. STEVENSON and GEDDES SMITH. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1934. Pp. vii+186. \$1.50.

In presenting the origin and development of child guidance clinics the authors have departed from the stereotyped factual tendency which characterizes many historical accounts. They have produced instead an interesting and vital interpretation of the child guidance movement in its broad social implications. The book affords the reader an unbiased appraisal of the contribution of this movement to the community as well as to the individuals and agencies served. It defines with equal detachment what the child guidance clinic can accomplish and contribute as well as what it has not accomplished and is not constituted to contribute in the present social scheme.

It is seldom that we find so much content in so few pages. In the concluding chapter it is stated:

The child guidance clinic is in some respects a transitional agency. Its service is to correlate certain resources for the care of children handicapped in personality or be-

havior. It helps to bridge the gap between a period when delinquency, dependency, and mental disease were attacked single-handed by separate professional groups and a future in which mental health may be as well guarded at danger points by an integrated social program as physical health begins to be.

The reader views in retrospect the day of isolated specialization, follows with interest the graphic account of the intervening growth phases, and views the present wherein the child guidance clinic is described as being "more than a therapeutic agency. It is a tool for synthesizing the most promising approaches to problems of behavior and personality and for demonstrating the synthesis to the professions concerned with those problems. It is a laboratory in which new leads may be found for the study of the child. As such it has a place in social evolution."

Each chapter subject is handled from an evolutionary point of view. Change which has occurred is traced, the meaning of that change interpreted, present trends defined, and future possibilities predicted. Thus the reader is left with a basic understanding of the functions of the clinic and of its place in the present social structure. Because of the fundamental presentation it should provide students of social work with a sound orientation in the nature and purposes of child guidance. That the effective functioning of this type of clinic is dependent upon a discriminative utilization of its resources and mutual participation in its program by the institutions, agencies, and individuals of a community is stressed throughout the book. Social case-workers, educators, teachers, pediatricians, and all individuals who make professional use of a child guidance clinic should find this work an invaluable orientation in the referral of cases and in what to expect and not to demand from this service. After having read the entire book, one would hope that those individuals who still cherish illusions as to an omniscient service might re-read the following chapters: "The Selection of Cases," "The Clinic in the Community," "Clinic Services and Procedures," and "Trends and Possibilities." This book should be helpful to administrative staffs in agencies within communities where the establishment of a child guidance service is contemplated.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Incidence of Delinquency in Berkeley, 1928-1932. By HERMAN ADLER, FRANCES CAHN, and JOHANNES STUART. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1934. Pp. 102. \$2.00.

In five years in Berkeley, 1,964 juveniles under twenty years of age were referred to three public agencies—the Berkeley Police Department and the Crime Prevention Division of that Department, the School Department, and the Juvenile Court of Alameda County. Although the authors extend professionally to the staff members of these selected departments generous compliments for the co-operation given, they encountered, nevertheless, difficulties

and found a great many questions of importance and interest that have, therefore, perforce, been disregarded. The great complexity of any social problem, the definition of terms, the nature of the machinery of justice, the procedures followed by the various official agencies dealing with juvenile delinquency, and the economic status, relative importance, and authority of the citizens involved were some of the difficulties that beset them. Inasmuch as the Berkeley school system has been known nationally for years for its conspicuous progressiveness and well-trained personnel, and the Berkeley Police Department, thanks to that dean of astute police administrators, August Vollmer, easily rated second to none in America by the non-partisan observer, it is to be regretted that these three frank and ethical authors, especially well qualified to speak accurately, if not also authoritatively, did not feel obliged to outline further these difficulties as to their effect upon individuals specifically and upon studies, such as this, generally, so that other students in this particular field might be forearmed and encouraged. At least these authors had the advantage of three agencies that were patently co-operative and have records of achievement of indubitable distinction. It would seem that both the authors and the agencies, because of their mutual high standing, could have revealed quite safely the limitations and difficulties with scarce any penalty attached at all to any one of them. That the authors are sensitive to the opportunity they allowed to slip by is apparent, for they limit their study precisely and will not be swerved. They cleverly employ screens—lack of funds, lack of time, lack of a research staff, etc.—and proceed carefully, statistically, and confidently.

A brief description of Berkeley and its relationship in Alameda County is given. Districts having the ten highest rates of delinquency per 10,000 of the population of the age group from five to twenty years, inclusive, are contrasted and compared with districts having the ten lowest rates. Only 761 of the 1,964 delinquents dealt with by the three public agencies selected were set apart for detailed study and analysis. And the study of these 761 is by no means a detailed one, for it covers practically only sex, marital status, race, age, agency handling case, source of reference to agency, and type of problem. But even so, the authors found out an unusual amount of factual data and were confronted from time to time by not a few perplexing and humiliating questions.

The findings in this study of Berkeley differed materially from the findings reported by Shaw in his study of Chicago *Delinquency Areas*, but the authors infer there might be a similarity not so much in the transitional states of areas as in the contiguity of different social milieus. For instance—and a rather humiliating instance at that—they discovered unexpectedly that the districts with the highest delinquency rates are adjacent to the campus of the University of California. The authors affiliated and indebted somewhat to University life did not find that the facts showed that this high delinquency rate was due to the presence of a large number of university students. And they add, "Nothing that has been said here precludes the possibility that the presence of students in

large numbers may influence the behavior of juveniles residing in contiguity to them." They avoid any conclusions by saying, "This question, however, must be left for the present as one of the many more subtle points in social investigation, the answer to which cannot be deduced from the material presented in this study." But they are sure, "... so far as there may be a relationship, it must be an indirect one."

In the two areas with districts of ten each, representing the highest and lowest delinquency rates, some of the more significant findings were:

1. In Series A (ten districts with highest rates) and in Series B (ten districts with lowest rates) for both series there were twice as many male delinquents as female delinquents.

2. As to race, Series A showed a larger number of members of non-white races than did Series B.

3. In both series about 30 per cent of the total number of delinquents were under twelve years of age. And, too, for both series the greatest percentage of the total number was found in the sixteen-year age group.

4. More than 55 per cent of the delinquents of both series were referred to social agencies by only four of the thirty-six sources of reference, namely, police, mother or relative, neighbors, and stores.

There are three appendixes, of which two are astonishingly revealing in that they well demonstrate that the subtleties in the problem of juvenile delinquency are indeed tenuous and that the complexities, though unsusceptible of statistical measurement, are nevertheless more imaginary than real. These two appendixes point conclusively, so it seems to the reviewer of this excellent book, to the fact that there is a definite need for a study of adults and adults only, in the true appraisal of the incidence of juvenile delinquency. The authors refrain from committing themselves—and they deserve much credit, too, for their restraint—by allotting to Appendixes B and C evidence that, given a chance, adults can be pretty lax and evasive and rather vague as to what juvenile delinquency really is.

Only about ten Berkeley children in a hundred participate in the playground activities. The authors believe it would be pertinent to find out what the other ninety do with their leisure time and add, inconspicuously in Appendix C, "Contrary to what many believe, playgrounds may prove to be a focal point for delinquency." There were no problems, it was noted, peculiar to any one neighborhood with the exception of one wherein on Sunday afternoons in athletic competition visiting adult teams attracted an undesirable element. Six playground directors reported they had encountered no problems on their playgrounds, and three attributed their enviable records to their long-continued service—none less than four years. Anyone familiar with children knows that this fact alone can scarce be given the inference intended; and one might well inquire, "Are the problems recognized when present, and are the troublemakers sent off the grounds, etc.?" Perhaps the ninety Berkeley children out of every

hundred who do not frequent the playgrounds are saved from, or driven to, delinquency elsewhere because of the complaints made of them on the playground by the professionally trained. For among the problems or difficulties reported by the playground directors are: "mess up showers," boys lose their tempers, boys twist wrists, disputes, certain children won't play in organized games, children poor sports, throwing rocks, boys spit, rip signs, and cut flagpole rope, problem children sent home, parents sent them back, taxpayers.

Statistical tables are numerous and clarify the text. All told, the study is expertly done and well presented.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Three Essays on Sex and Marriage. By EDWARD WESTERMARCK. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1934. Pp. 353. \$6.00.

Few students in the social sciences are unfamiliar with Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*. These *Three Essays* supplement that monumental book now in its fifth edition and still being added to new reading lists wherever sociology and the allied sciences and arts are taught.

In the first essay Westermarck discusses rather nobly the three assumptions upon which the belief in the existence of the Oedipus complex is based. Direct quotations from Freud and other accredited psychoanalysts are liberally employed and oftentimes with telling inferential effect. Not infrequently, too, Westermarck with academic precision points out wherein psychoanalytic arguments seem to grow expansively lax and beg the question. He pleasantly observes that it is significant that there are divergent opinions among psychoanalysts of different schools in regard to their validity (of opinion) in the case of neurotics, but how significant or why it is significant he does not commit himself but instead hastens on to present "alleged corroboration from direct observation, customs, and myths." He is less pleasant and somewhat more vigorous in his rejoinder to Dr. Briffault. That it might be significant that widely divergent and conflicting opinions exist too among anthropologists and sociologists he fails to call attention to specifically, though obviously it does disturb him didactically and personally.

Children are to psychoanalysts what savages are to anthropologists—easy to observe but difficult to interpret; biologically intact somehow, but deviously motivated. This book makes it clear that he who undertakes to say more of either children or savages jeopardizes himself, his past and present professional standing, and his future.

The facts that have been adduced in support of the supposed prehistoric events to which Freud has attributed the inhibition of incest Westermarck concludes to be worthless as evidence. Disguising his petulance poorly *re* the rôle of the Oedipus complex in the psychology of the individual and the social facts underlying the supposition of its universality and the influence it is alleged to

have exercised on the history of civilization, he says the objections raised by sociology "cannot be ignored by those whose faith in Freud as a psychoanalyst has made them ready to swallow the unfounded sociological presumptions of his theory."

Recent theories of exogamy are presented from an argumentative standpoint and the hypotheses of Briffault, Seligman (Mrs.), Malinowski, and Raglan (Lord) criticized. In the rejoinder to Briffault, the biological foundation of marriage, prenuptial chastity, monogamy, polygamy, and polyandry—erstwhile and perennial subjects which have intrigued sociologists for decades and psychoanalysts for years and any one of the subjects a reliable challenge for both to speculate about with courageous conviction that contradiction will flare up and drive them on, scorched to more remote realms of investigation—are reviewed eagerly.

Theories and inferences and conjectures, be they psychoanalytic or sociologic, stand or fall by the basic truth they uphold. Opinions and arguments for and against specific theories serve best when they dissipate the fog that inferences and conjectures settle around and about a given truth. In these *Three Essays* it matters little what the reader's position or attitude toward psychoanalysis is, for Westermarck presents accurately only that which he deems wise and serviceable for one to know, and that little is enough for one to recognize as dubious as applied to the Westermarckian in sociology. Psychoanalytic concepts and their application to sociological trends, and his own exposition of both, simply equip him to battle Briffault and his "American echo" (Calverton) the more effectively. Significant, indeed, is the defense, the countercharge, and the choice of invectives, or, if you prefer, the rationalization, the projection, and the sublimation which transcends at times to the symbolic and the nebulous for those involved.

It is a book in which the tendentious is ever in the background, and erudition ensnarled with conflicting emotions is focal and victoriously emergent in the foreground. Equivocal life is herein depicted at its zenith, subjectively and objectively intensive, microscopically and macroscopically extensive, and withal held aloft in scrutinizing abeyance in the best Westermarckian manner.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Administration of Placement and Unemployment Insurance in Germany.

By OSCAR WEIGERT. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1934. Pp. xiv+241. \$2.50.

This book by the man known in Germany as the father of the Employment Exchanges Act of 1922 and of the Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927 has the virtue of simplicity and clarity gained through long experience with the subject matter. Almost every one of the brief chapters is based upon special research or administrative experience or negotiations in which the author took the initiative and assumed the burden of leadership.

The first section deals with the relation of population and labor supply, the recent changes in agriculture and industry, and the general trend of employment and unemployment in relation to the development and functioning of the employment exchanges. Part II discusses the development of the employment service; its organization and functions, local, district, and national; statistical reports; personnel; the location and housing of exchanges; and the costs of financing the service.

The third section covers placement procedure, including relations with employers, and gives in detail the German administrative experience. Placement service for special groups, such as professional people, salaried employees, women, juveniles, handicapped persons, and agricultural workers; special measures to reduce unemployment, such as placement in continuation courses for apprentices, aid to itinerant workers, and grant of equipment or traveling expenses necessary to acceptance of a job, are all discussed in this section.

Part IV describes the relationships of the exchanges to the administration of unemployment insurance. The section also deals with the collection of premium payments, administrations of funds, and unemployment statistics. A map shows the regional division of Germany for administration of the exchanges. There is an excellent brief bibliography.

Scientific and thorough but readable, and by no means heavy or involved, the book will be of great use to students of employment exchange procedures.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

Juvenile Unemployment. By JOHN JEWKES and ALLAN WINTERBOTTOM.
London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1933. Pp. 159. 5s.

The authors have undertaken and published the results of an investigation into unemployment among boys and girls in Lancashire and Cumberland, two of England's badly hit industrial areas, in the belief that "if the present conditions are only widely understood then there will be an irresistible demand that something drastic should be done" about it. In the first two chapters they paint the existing situation; in chapter iii they discuss such measures as are now being tried under the caption "Palliatives." An entire chapter is devoted to the long-debated and often-indorsed proposal to raise the school-leaving age—a step which the government has, for reasons of national economy, decided not to make mandatory but to leave to the discretion of local education authorities. In the last two chapters a broad national program to deal with juvenile unemployment, and a more limited and more immediate program for Lancashire, are propounded.

Coming at a time when America also is disturbed by a juvenile unemployment problem, and coming from a country that is further advanced in its social-security program, this slim volume is decidedly interesting. The problem of the

two countries is similar: youth crowding into blind-alley occupations: little demand for boys and girls, even those with a secondary-school and junior-technical-school education; 73 per cent of the elementary-school leavers who entered retail trade becoming errand and newspaper boys. In some ways, however, the British situation looks worse than ours; secondary- and technical-school leavers apparently have greater difficulty finding immediate jobs than elementary-school leavers, whereas the meager reports available from junior placement agencies in this country indicate that during the depression placements of the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old group who have not completed high school have dwindled to next to nothing. In this country the probability of stable employment in later life stands in direct ratio to education. Probably the same thing holds true in England. In fact, the indications there are that in a year or two the early school leavers who were relatively quick to find jobs are displaced by a new crop of cheap, untrained child labor.

So far as a national program is concerned, the British authors pin their chief hopes for a solution to three proposals: to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen; to require compulsory registration of all unemployed juveniles at the public employment exchanges in order to centralize placements; and to institute vocational guidance on a national scale, in connection with the exchanges. The existing junior instruction centers for unemployed young people—which from a distance of three thousand miles may look promising—are rather sketchily described, and are severely criticized for inability to attract and hold a large and stable attendance. Their defects, it is suggested, cannot be remedied short of a thorough revision, and more adequate financial aid.

This book leaves one with a feeling that the problem of juvenile unemployment and training is an inseparable part of planning for the national economy as a whole, and that little can be done to equip individual boys and girls to find themselves secure and progressively responsible individual jobs, until national and international forces governing production and trade have achieved a better balance than prevails today. Messrs. Jewkes and Winterbottom are themselves well aware of this predicament.

JEAN A. FLEXNER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Union-Management Co-operation in the "Stretch Out." By RAYMOND C. NYMAN in collaboration with ELLIOTT DUNLAP SMITH. Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. xiii + 210. \$3.00.

For their first publication in the field of industrial relations, the Yale University Institute of Human Relations has selected a study of the attempt on the part of plant management and organized labor to meet the problems of technological changes in industry. *Union-Management Co-operation in the "Stretch Out"* is the case history of an experiment in joint research in labor extension

made by the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company and the local officers of the United Textile Workers at the Pequot Mills in Salem, Massachusetts.

Covering a period of five years, the study presents the background on which the joint research plan was based, then outlines in detail the introduction of scientific management in the plant, discussing in turn its early success, the problems created through by-partisan control, the effects of the depression on the situation, the collapse of the co-operative plan culminating in the strike, and finally the resumption of work with the problem of the stretch-out still unsettled.

It is an impartial factual analysis of a remarkably interesting experiment in employer-employee relationship. In turn, the points of view of the mill executives, the technician in charge of research, the union officials, and the workers whose jobs were being analyzed are presented. Both the advantages resulting from the co-operative effort and the defects in some of the methods employed in putting the plan into operation are discussed.

In summarizing the results of the experiment, the authors comment upon its value despite the apparent failure:

... In spite of repeated labor extensions and a protracted strike, the mill management and the mill employees still regarded each other with respect. In an industry and in a period where major strikes with an aftermath of bitterness, disrupted union organizations and complete final disaster were alike commonplace, these results were no mean achievement.

Because of the sincerity of all concerned, this outstanding attempt to unite labor and management in a common effort to solve the problems of technological change gives unusual insight into both these problems and those of union-management co-operation. . . .

Although the study is confined to one specific establishment, it has a broader significance in the light it sheds on the general subject of the stretch-out. The book is one that should be of interest not only to business executives and labor leaders but to all students of industrial relations. It is particularly timely in view of the recent nation-wide textile strike and the problem of extended labor involved.

ETHEL M. JOHNSON

STATE MINIMUM WAGE OFFICE
CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Statistical Tables and Graphs. By BRUCE D. MUDGETT. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930. Pp. viii+194. \$1.75.

The material in this little book, *Statistical Tables and Graphs*, is arranged logically and presented to the reader in understandable language. Numerous illustrations of good form for tables and charts are given. The book is intended for the use of students who desire to become business men and executives.

About one-third of the book is devoted to a discussion of correct methods of presenting statistics in tabular form. The second chapter describes the processes of hand tabulation and mechanical tabulation. The use of mechanical tabula-

tion is recommended "when the number of records or observations runs into the thousands, and the number of classifications is large."

Professor Mudgett emphasizes the importance of keeping in mind the "goal sought." The statistical table should produce in the mind of the reader a true and undistorted picture of the facts of the particular problem at hand. He states that unnecessary detail should be avoided in the finished table. The author introduces, on pages 39-51, some useful "mechanical aids to good tabular presentation."

The remaining two-thirds of the book deals with graphic statistics. In the introduction to this section of his book Professor Mudgett states that the purpose of graphic presentation is "getting at the meaning of the figures with a minimum of effort." He compares the accuracy of the various methods in use. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the use of linear and angular units is preferable to the use of area- and volume-representation. In ensuing sections he discusses graphs of frequency distributions, historical graphs, ratio charts, and statistical maps.

Professor Mudgett's conclusions as to the best methods of tabular presentation and graphic presentation may be tested by the exercises which are given for the student at the end of each section of the book.

INEZ M. SKINNER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON

Better Government Personnel: Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. x+182. \$2.00.

This report of a committee appointed in December, 1933, by the National Research Council and financed by the Spellman Foundation to "examine the broad problems of public personnel within the United States" gives us the judgment on the facts assembled of a university president (L. D. Coffman, of Minnesota), of a distinguished professor of political science (Charles E. Merriam, of Chicago), of an administrator experienced in municipal government (Louis Brownlow), and of two business men (Ralph Budd, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, and Arthur L. Day, vice-president of the Corning Glass Works). Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration and professor of Municipal Science and Administration of Columbia, was director of the staff. A series of eleven monographs prepared by the staff under the latter's direction, as well as the minutes of the hearings held in nine cities, will follow this initial summary of conclusions and recommendations.

As social workers who are interested in public welfare administration have often found themselves opposed to Dr. Gulick's recommendations for the reorganization of state departments because they found by experience that his

adherence to a theoretical scheme meant political direction of the state's social services, they will be glad to find themselves in agreement with him on civil service. They may begin by wondering why, since the word "commission" is reserved in American and English practice for a legal or officially appointed body, this committee is called a "Commission of Inquiry." But overlooking this possible source of confusion, they will doubtless find themselves in general accord with the recommendations, and, it is to be hoped, prepared to co-operate in furthering them.

A new slogan—"Better Government Personnel"—is substituted in the report for the old one—"Civil Service Reform"—which had become associated with many legislative defeats, but most of the recommended changes are old friends. The outline of a practical plan for correlating federal, state, and local services is new and useful; the suggestion that professional personnel should be certified by the accredited professional associations and by the legally established professional bodies is also new in American experience. We are glad to note that special emphasis is placed on the abolition of residence requirements and geographical apportionment of appointments and that the repeal of the preferential status of veterans and of section 213 of the United States Economy Act of 1932, which required the discharge of one member of a married couple when both are employed, are recommended as in violation of the merit principle. The probation period recommended—not less than six months before permanent appointment—is far too brief for the administrative and professional services, particularly in view of the great emphasis laid by the report on the importance of making government employment a "career service." Except for the extremes—those exceptionally well or poorly qualified—it is impossible in a six months' period to reach a valid conclusion as to the fitness of an appointee who is new to the government service. This is the present probationary period in the federal service, and we know by experience that administrators tend to give the appointee the benefit of the doubt, as they hesitate to dismiss anyone who is not seriously unsatisfactory on so brief a test and the service, in consequence, tends to accumulate a good many mistakes.

Perhaps too great emphasis is placed on what the report calls the "career service system," which follows the well-known British model. Opportunities for promotion in the service are important and in practice, where appointment is on a merit basis, preference of those already in the service over outside competitors whose ability is greater and whose experience may be equally or more valuable is general. The administrator turns to those already in the service because he knows them and because as a result of their knowledge of government procedures they can be counted on for certain negative virtues even when their work is mediocre in character. If equally as well qualified, those in the service should be given preference; but the accident of an early choice of work in a university research laboratory instead of the United States Bureau of Chemistry should not exclude the former from consideration if he is in fact, better qualified. Except as the career service system makes for better service, it has no justification.

Moreover, when promotion from the inside is the established rule, there often develops a kind of inside politics which can successfully subordinate the good of the service to the interests of the staff. Unquestionably it is important to bring into the government service some who have had experience and won recognition outside a government bureau, and if they are appointed on a merit basis, it is not unfair to the old employees.

In addition to general recommendations, the report is very specific on some points—postmasters and deputy collectors of internal revenue, for example—but what about assistant secretaries and chiefs of the scientific bureaus? The career service system, with promotion to the higher ranks, implies that these positions would be included, but it would be helpful to indicate more specifically that we needed something more than merely accidental merit appointments to these offices and that a loyal group of permanent undersecretaries would be of great help in the practical carrying-out of party programs.

In addition to the recommendations of the members of the "commission," this volume contains a summary of federal and state civil laws and an analysis of the personnel in our public services which the chapters of the A.A.S.W. that are at work on this problem will find useful.

An official commission usually reports to Congress, a state legislature, the president, a governor, or a mayor. This 'privately appointed "commission" announces that it is reporting to the "American public" (p. viii). If the so-called "United Front" of all agencies interested in improved government personnel which Dr. Gulick is organizing with its "Confidential Bulletin" and "Current Gossip on Movements for Better Government" can persuade the public to consider the recommendations made, we shall have better government personnel.

GRACE ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Trends in Public Administration. By LEONARD D. WHITE, PH.D. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1933. Pp. x+365. \$4.00.

This authoritative statement by Professor White is, like all other publications resulting from the study of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, a fragment. By dividing the material to be examined and distributing it among twenty-nine investigators, the Committee rendered inevitable fragmentary treatment of most of the topics discussed. In order to obtain a really comprehensive view of the "trends in public administration," the reader would be compelled to examine not only this interesting volume, but likewise the monographs for which Dr. Wolman and Dr. Peck (*Labor in the National Life*) and Professor Wooddy (*Growth of the Federal Government, 1915-1932*) are responsible, and the chapters in the original volumes, of which Professor Charles H. Judd ("Education"); Mr. Lawrence K. Frank ("Childhood and Youth"); Dr. J. F. Steiner ("Recreation and Leisure Time Activities"); Mr. Harry H. Moore ("Health and Medical Practice"); Professor Edwin H. Sutherland ("Crime and Punishment"); Professor Howard W. Odum ("Public Welfare Activities");

Dr. Clarence Heer ("Taxation and Public Finance"); and Professor Charles E. Merriam ("Government and Society") are the authors.

In view of the range of discussion by the other students in the group, it is interesting to note the topics selected by Dr. White for this volume. They are: I, "Balance of Power"; II, "The New Management"; and III, "Public Employment."

In the development of the subject, "Balance of Power," Dr. White discusses, in an extremely interesting way, the tendency toward federal centralization, and centralization within the states, from the point of view of finance, education, public health, and highways. He notes other fields of public service in which the same tendencies are to be discovered, but these are the subjects to which he devotes the greater amount of space. He also calls attention, however, to certain decentralizing developments that are going on, and presents an interesting body of material on the subject of the growth of the home-rule movement in the case of both counties and of cities.

In his discussion of the field of management, he calls attention especially to the influence exerted by the Committee appointed in 1911 by President Taft to consider problems of efficiency and economy. The growth of fiscal control as illustrated by the establishment and development of the Federal Bureau of the Budget, the extension of agencies tending to increase the power and responsibility of the executive; the procedures strengthening the administrative powers of the President in connection with, for example, the independent federal establishments. These topics are all reviewed in a brief but masterly way. In the same way, Dr. White calls attention to the development of various instrumentalities strengthening the administrative capacities of the governors of states, and of the chief executives of municipalities as well.

For social workers, the most immediate interest perhaps lies in the discussion of personnel management. For social workers are becoming aware of the importance to social work of the development of sound personnel principles, and the application of the merit system to the selection of public officials. As has been said, this contribution to the thinking of students in the field of public administration is a fragment, but it is a fragment characterized by thoroughness and comprehensiveness within the area which it undertakes to cover.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

American State Government and Administration. By AUSTIN F. MACDONALD. ("Crowell's Social Science Series," ed. SEBA ELDRIDGE.) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934. Pp. xiii+839. \$3.75.

Professor MacDonald has given the student of government and the teacher of college and university classes in public administration an extremely comprehensive, interesting, and useful textbook. It is thoroughly documented and provided with intelligently framed "problems" for classroom use. Professor Mac-

Donald came to the study of the state by the way of "federal aid,"¹ of which he has been a student for a decade. Possibly because of this, in his discussion the states take on an aspect in accord with their present actual participation in a great kaleidoscopic relationship, each as one of forty-nine living political entities, each affected by the experiences and activities of the other forty-seven states and of the federal government.

The presentation is most satisfactory because of the able and competent way in which the judicial decisions are treated. The student using this text will be habituated to the idea that the courts have something to do with determining the content of our public law and the rate at which changes can be made.

For the students of public welfare the chapters on "Expenditures" (chap. xi) and on "State Revenues" (chap. xii) as well as those on "Correction" (chap. v) and "Charity" (chap. xvi) have a very real value, and the chapters on "Education" (chap. xvii) and "Health" (chap. xviii) summarize very recent reports in fields which are also of interest to social workers.

As Professor MacDonald has come to the state by way of the federal government, so he is prepared to approach the local government through the states. He therefore closes his treatment of the state by a discussion of "State Control over Local Government" (chap. xxiii) and by a brief chapter on "City Government" (chap. xxiv) and one on "County Government" (chap. xxv).

The "model constitution" which is presented in the Appendix contains a requirement that so far as practicable the merit system as exemplified in the use of competitive examinations shall determine appointments and promotions in the organization of state and local staffs. After the pattern of an article in the Massachusetts constitution, it recognizes the granting of "sufficient" relief as a public function by the state or municipalities under legislative regulation. The acquisition of natural resources for purposes of conservation, the regulation of advertising on private property, within public view, and the acquisition of property in contemplation of future public use are also authorized in this model constitution.

S. P. B.

A Judge Takes the Stand. By JOSEPH N. ULMAN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933. Pp. viii+289+vi. \$3.00.

This volume is another evidence of the growing consciousness on the part of the Bench and Bar that the practice of the law" and the "administration of justice" are not always synonymous. The Carnegie Corporation, through Kate Claghorn's *Immigrant's Day in Court*, and Reginald Heber Smith's *Justice and the Poor*, has brought home to great numbers of the profession as well as to the wider public the extent to which the administration of the law, civil as well as criminal, is a travesty on the poor. Great judges have been concerned that re-

¹ Austin F. MacDonald, *Federal Aid: A Study of the American Subsidy System* (New York: Crowell, 1928); *Federal Subsidies to the States* (Philadelphia, 1923.)

construction of the administrative organization should conform to well-recognized principles of specialization in classes of clients as well as in legal procedure, and the development of aids to sound determination has followed intelligent experimentation. Judge Ulman has been aware of these movements, and has taken thought of his rôle in a dynamic development. He has "taken the stand" to testify, somewhat in the capacity of a witness for the defense. The administration of the law is the party defendant: Justice Ulman is not the counsel; he states no plea in defense, though sometimes the idea suggests itself that a party defendant has plead guilty and the question of mitigation of sentence is before the Court of public opinion.

The volume is an extremely interesting document, showing clear appreciation of the services of such modern adjuncts to criminal law administration as the psychiatrist, the medical adviser, and the probation officer, and fine appreciation of the weakness, if not wickedness, of the prison system. The volume has the interest of an autobiography, and should be extremely stimulating to students concerned for the reform of judicial structure as well as to prospective practitioners at the Bar. While Judge Ulman incidentally places the stamp of cordial approval upon elaborate statistical studies such as resulted from the short-lived Institute of Law at Johns Hopkins, he gives, by writing these "confessions," direct evidence that those studies must be supplemented by careful and detailed exhibits revealing the individual and unique character of every true judicial determination. One might wish that every reference to one of the Institute's statistical reports might be supplemented by contemporaneous reference to this interesting human document.

S. P. B.

The Tragedy of Lynching. By ARTHUR RAPER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. viii+499. \$2.50.

There are few subjects that are more humiliating to the American citizen than that of lynching; and there are few more puzzling problems in social organization than the working-out of a program to reduce this type of lawlessness, and to substitute for the fearfully brutal and terroristic activities of the mob respect for legal procedures and a reasonably intelligent understanding of the problems presented by the presence in the community of individuals of different races and different social and economic origins.

There are whole ranges of activities and of thought in the United States less advanced than that of the group which formulated in 1165 the "Constitutions of Clarendon," out of which gradually developed the institutions and agencies and activities generally brought together under one phrase—"law enforcement." A series of administrative inventions such as the grand jury, the petit jury, the development of the criminal trial with the safeguards supposedly now in effect

under our bills of right, have, to a considerable extent at least, replaced private vengeance by public punishment. It is a thrilling story of historic growth; and one which encourages the hope that in the field of international relations, to a wider and wider extent, the forms of law may replace the methods of force.

Through the nearly thousand years that this development has taken place, through selective processes of trial and error, many procedures have been dropped and great improvement made in the administration of criminal laws. One of the drawbacks of our "federal organization" which exalts the locality and deprives the national center of authority is that progress is not more uniform. Here, there, and yonder in the United States are areas in which it is still possible for groups to assemble and brutally abuse another human being, rationalizing their activity as a substitute for defective legal procedures.

This volume reviews the story of lynchings in the year 1930 when the number (twenty-one) was greater than for four years and, with the exception of 1926, for seven years. It discusses the problem in the "Black Belt counties" and in other parts of the South in which these forms of lawlessness appear and also lynchings outside the South. The Appendixes to the book give the facts with reference to the number, the location, the identity of the victim, and the crime alleged, since the beginning of 1930, and as to numbers since the record began to be kept in 1889. There is no need here to review the hideous story. The important thing to do is to realize the validity of the evidence that the states have been unequal to the task of controlling the mob and to note the fact that for a number of years there has been before Congress, first under the guiding hand of Hon. L. C. Dyer and now under the brilliant direction of Senator Edward P. Costigan, an anti-lynching bill. The present proposal will make it possible, when the state fails, to consider the crime as a crime against the United States and to deal with the executive officers and the law-enforcing agencies of the state and locality, and to punish the community not only through its representatives, who may be fined and imprisoned, but by the imposition of fines on the local treasury to which the taxes of the local residents will have to contribute.

It is highly important that the Costigan measure should be enacted at this session of Congress. It is more important, however, that social workers should devise ways of bringing within the realm of the influence of our philosophy the belated and retarded populations found in the areas referred to in this volume. Nothing short of a national program of education and suggestion can possibly meet the needs of a situation of this kind, and no program having in mind exclusively the wrongs of the victim will be adequate. The deficiencies and opportunities of the members of the groups engaging in such hideous activity must likewise be kept in mind, and only when the last of these is thought of as needing education and suggestion and wider opportunity for knowledge and human sympathy will the task be undertaken in a promising spirit.

S. P. B.

Labor, Industry and Government. By MATTHEW WOLL. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935. Pp. vi+341. \$2.00.

President of the Photo-Engravers' Union, closely associated with Samuel Gompers for years, editor of the Federation's *Legal Information Service*, and chairman of the executive committee of the Workers Education Bureau, Matthew Woll has had unusual opportunity to know the policies and attitudes of the American Federation of Labor. These he has given in many short and readable chapters. Those on the principles, policies, and attitudes of organized labor, the basis for collective bargaining, labor's arguments for increased wages, and the actual and possible progress under the NRA are particularly useful in indicating the point of view of the Federation.

Because he is thoroughly imbued with what Samuel Gompers called the "principle of voluntarism," Mr. Woll sees danger of undue governmental control of labor and of industry under the NRA. He believes that power beneficently exercised to favor union organization may also be turned toward limitation of essential union activities. He sees the government definitely moving toward something new in relation to strikes and union organization activities, and is fearful of the outcome.

Underlying the theory of voluntarism is the Federation's political philosophy which conceives political and economic functions as completely separate, requiring mutual co-operating organizations but not fusion, nor domination of one by the other. American labor, he reports, is opposed to the theory of class conflict which is assumed by most European labor movements. These theories explain the non-partisan political policy of the Federation and the belief in union-management co-operation, which this volume explains. They interpret the Federation's distrust of economic planning as ordinarily conceived, particularly in so far as it imitates the Russian program.

It is all too easy to criticize a great movement. Some of those who were most harshly critical of Mr. Gompers have been the first to say, since his death, that the Federation would have done more constructive work under his leadership. Trade-unionists and social workers frequently have similar, if not identical, objectives for society; yet, they have often been unaware or suspicious of each other. This book should be useful to social workers who want a statement of the policies of the American Federation of Labor from one who has helped to make them.

M. R. C.

America's Social Morality: Dilemmas of the Changing Mores. By JAMES H. TUFTS. Henry Holt & Co., 1933. Pp. x+376. \$3.00.

In this volume, which forms part of the American Social Science series, Professor Tufts, former head of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, studies the American moral and social situation from the viewpoint of a judicious, exceedingly well-informed and broad-minded observer. His aim

is to discover the moral dilemmas of the present period and to explore the factors that are causing the strains and difficulties everybody feels.

The book is not dogmatic; it proposes no specific remedies or solutions. Professor Tufts is not asking us to enlist in any crusade against capitalism, or *for* any system or doctrine. His task is one of interpretation, though he does not conceal his own leanings and sympathies.

The field covered is astonishingly extensive. No actual or serious dilemma is ignored. Industry, commerce, the family, sex, work, amusement, crime, juvenile delinquency, temperance, gambling, government, diplomacy, citizenship, even suicide as a symptom, are severally treated in the twenty chapters of the book.

The method of treatment is historical and scientific. Problems are traced to their sources, whether economic, political, religious or technical, and ample data are presented in support of every proposition put forward.

The attentive reader of this work, to use a hackneyed phrase, will find himself liberally educated in respect of his time, the world he lives in, the currents and trends which affect his group and his society. He will be well prepared to tackle other works—works which offer confident solutions of the complete problems admirably and philosophically canvassed by Professor Tufts.

The one-hundred percenters—radical or conservative—may not like the book. The bewildered persons who seek knowledge and guidance will appreciate its insight and its breadth. Professor Tufts is a "new Liberal," as Professor John Dewey defines the genuine liberalism of today. His general position will be sufficiently indicated, perhaps, by a few quotations.

Discussing recent American efforts to help juvenile offenders or to prevent juvenile delinquency, Professor Tufts says:

We shall go on in nearly the present way, growing our annual quota of boys for the police, the courts and the prisons. We shall aim to be more intelligent and humane—but as for taking any radical measures to stop the production, there seems little hope for the immediate future.

And the reason for this, he declares, is that Americans, though a kindly people, are in the grip of the established individualistic order, and radical economic changes seem to them almost unpatriotic and sacrilegious.

In the chapter on public and private morals, Professor Tufts asks this grave question: "Can a democracy control its powerful groups, or must, say, an underprivileged group assert itself and use force, use government as a fulcrum, to get a hearing?" And here is his realistic and candid answer:

Working men distrust the courts; the Negro distrusts a government in which he has no vote. The farmer distrusts Wall street influence; the city is contemptuous of "hick towns." . . . The chances for the immediate future do not appear to favor the settlement by calm and reasonable methods of certain of these conflicting claims.

In the chapter on prostitution, Professor Tufts, after noting the negative trends toward the liberation of women as well as the more positive trends,

points out that "a morality based on respect for women, fortified by the independence, efficiency and education of women, and informed by scientific knowledge on the part of women, may be effective in a 'new conscience for an ancient evil!'" "May," mark, not "will" or "must."

Professor Tufts is anxious, but he does not despair of the republic. America, he feels, still has plenty of vitality. The nation has advanced even since the war and the depression. New social concepts are emerging, and labor has benefitted from them. The problem of wise economic planning is receiving earnest attention; adversity is teaching us wholesome lessons. American vitality may yet find American solutions for the present menacing problems and thus escape alike fascism and communism.

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VICTOR S. YARROS

Social Change and Social Problems. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. New York: Harper & Bros., 1934. Social Science Series. Pp. 774. \$3.50.

Offered as a revision and expansion of Professor Bossard's earlier book *Problems of Social Well-Being* the present volume is intended as a textbook for the social science student. Dealing with problems of concern to social agencies and devoting a considerable section to the problems of social work and social welfare organization, it is also of interest to social workers.

A sociological definition of the meaning and significance of social problems and the values of the scientific method are first presented. Then the student is introduced to the concept of social change. Inventions, changes in social relationship, and other aspects of social dynamics are set forth as factors influencing the major contemporary problems of welfare. The problems of income and economic security, the problems of physical health and mental hygiene, and the problems of family and child welfare constitute the main divisions of the text; and a considerable amount of material concerning each of these problem classifications is presented in a clear and readable form. Through a weaving together of factual information, quotations from leading students, and important social data in a systematic and logical arrangement, the material lends itself readily to classroom assignments and systematic study. Selected references at the end of each chapter suggest further sources of information.

Social Change and Social Problems is offered not only as a compilation of data on selected problems but as a contribution of the scientific method in the field of "applied sociology." The introductory chapter stresses the importance of the scientific approach and the nature of the scientific method. Professor Bossard admits, however (pp. 29 and 30), that while "the social sciences are now laying the foundation of understanding upon which the structure of control will some day be built . . . the achievements of social science lie in the future, not in

the past or present," and that "there are as yet few social problems that have been solved by scientific methods."

Some criticism may be offered concerning the understanding of the basic factors in social problems which can be derived from this volume. For example, the student is made acquainted with important facts concerning the nature and extent of unemployment and of costs of living and of wages and income and similar data. These are more amply presented than in similar texts and indicate that the author was well aware of the current economic issues and problems. The facts, however, do not of themselves lead to a better understanding of the forces operating in our economic organization which determine the character and volume of production, influence cyclical trends, and govern the distribution of production and the rates of wages—in short a basic explanation of the major factors of unemployment and of economic poverty that need to be controlled is lacking. Little is offered to the student to help him in selecting the courses of social action and economic control that would constitute constructive programs for solving the end results which are being presented on a factual basis.

Related to the lack of fundamental economic discussion, it may be said that the social welfare programs which are touched upon are largely the ameliorative proposals of the more conservative types of social insurance and limited plans for improvement in welfare organization and administration. In neglecting the search for basic factors in social and economic organization and in avoiding discussion of related economic and political issues, the social work student is being inadequately prepared for his future dealings with the vital questions of taxation, of national productive and financial capacity, and of the possibilities and limitations of income distribution which are fundamentally linked with a large part of the problems of social work. The final chapter on social planning, which might have grappled with these questions, is rather meager.

In spite of the criticism offered above, it should be stated that Professor Bossard's text is superior in many respects to other textbooks covering this general area of social problems which sociologists and others have made available for the training of students in the preparatory courses for social work. The reviewer suggests that an acceptable text on social and economic problems must contain a presentation of economic theory adequate to explain their basic character. Applied sociologists do not generally hesitate to borrow liberally from biology and psychiatry in presenting the problems of health and mental hygiene. There are no arbitrary restrictions on textbook preparation that need to be imposed when employment, wages, and standards of living are under discussion.

H. L. LURIE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH
FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
NEW YORK

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

STATE RELIEF REPORTS

Poor Relief Administration in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Department of Welfare (Bulletin No. 61). Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1934. Pp. 303.

Unemployment and Relief in Michigan. First Report of the State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, July, 1933—October, 1934. By WILLIAM HABER and P. L. STANCHFIELD. Lansing, Michigan, 1935. Pp. 151, and statistical section.

Public Welfare Service in Kansas, a Ten Year Report 1924-1933. Kansas Emergency Relief Committee (K.E.R.C. Bul. No. 127). Topeka, Kansas, 1934. Pp. 628. \$5.00.

This timely Pennsylvania report is one of the legacies of Governor Pinchot's administration. His Secretary of Welfare (Mrs. Alice F. Liveright) and her assistants have laid the necessary groundwork here for a modern Public Assistance Division in the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare by this carefully prepared account of the present archaic system which, as Mrs. Liveright says in her introduction, is "a legacy from colonial days." Although different legislatures and commissions have attempted over a period of two hundred years to revise these poor laws, the result has been only "a patch work of incredible confusion" and as a result of their comprehensive study the authors find today "more than 500 poor laws and amendments relating to poor relief on the statute books of the Commonwealth."

The study covered all the 425 poor districts of the state which are the units of poor-relief administration in the 67 counties of Pennsylvania. These poor districts may be:

1. Coextensive with the county, that is, county units administered by county commissioners acting as directors of the poor (22 counties), or administered by elected directors of the poor (26 counties), or administered by elected directors of a home for the destitute (1 county), or administered by appointed unpaid directors of the poor (1 county). Total county units, 50.
2. Another form of poor-district organization is commonly known as the township and borough plan, under which there are township and borough districts under elected overseers of the poor (7 counties), or township and borough districts together with one or more mixed districts (5 counties), or inter-county mixed districts together with township and borough and mixed districts (3 counties). Total 15 counties.
3. One county district (Allegheny) is administered by elected directors of poor (except for the city of Pittsburgh, which has an independent unit with the director of public welfare in charge). 1 county.
4. Finally, there is one municipal department of welfare with independent districts in one county (Philadelphia).

With 425 local authorities charged with administrative responsibility the investigator found all the familiar difficulties of local control. In the majority of the 302 poor districts studied, no records were kept of applications for relief, very few districts kept social case records, only eighteen districts attempted supervisory services for relief families, few of the Boards used the Social Service Exchange or co-operated with other agencies in planning for needs of relief clients. Family budgets were disgracefully inadequate with weekly grants to families of five averaging \$3.50 a week.

One result of local control was disregard of the provisions of the most recent act. Justices of the Peace whose authority to issue poor-relief orders was withdrawn by the act of 1925 were still issuing relief orders in ninety-four districts. Because of the chaotic condition of Pennsylvania's poor laws, many directors of the poor in the smaller districts said that they were not familiar with legislation affecting their districts. Some of them had not heard of the Poor Relief Act of 1925. "Others were aware of the act but had not attempted to familiarize themselves with its provisions." The directors of one county unit said that they were prohibited from giving outdoor relief by the Act of 1807 which created their district in provisions of the 1925 Act which specifically authorized outdoor relief and which also repealed earlier laws in conflict with the Act.

Michigan is now added to the list of states issuing carefully prepared annual reports of Emergency Relief Work. In Michigan with 850,000 persons—17 per cent of the population of the state—on the relief rolls, the relief organization has been a major state activity. An especially interesting section of the report shows the percentage of the population receiving relief in the different counties, varying from 50 per cent in some of the stricken counties in the Upper Peninsula, where "the decline of lumbering, once a major industry, has created a permanent unemployment problem," to a small percentage of 2.9 or less in the southern agricultural counties. There is also an interesting account of the closely related rural-urban relief problems. The Detroit Employers Association estimated that industrial employment in January, 1934, was 240,000 below the 1929 peak, and that half of these unemployed workers had left the city. Of course many of the "exiled" workers from the industrial areas were receiving relief in the rural parts of the state. But it is expected that these "exiled" workers will be again absorbed by the manufacturing industry that once employed them. In some areas like Grand Rapids, where the furniture industry has been "the backbone of the industrial structure," some 5,000 jobs are said to have been permanently lost through the removal of part of the industry to other centers. The report correctly observes that "the decline of industrial activity has everywhere been disastrous in its consequences."

The state of Kansas has made notable progress in the organization of a competent social work staff for the state E.R.A. and a competent statistical and research division, the results of which are shown in this very comprehensive Kansas report.

The bulk of the large volume is due chiefly to the printing of a long series of statistical tables showing relief expenditures by the different public and private agencies in each of the 105 counties of the state. There is also a carefully prepared statement of the work of the K.E.R.A. and its numerous divisions, a history of the Public Welfare Service 1862-1932, and an Appendix containing a short summary of the history of the Kansas Poor Law by Grace A. Browning, now instructor in Tulane University. Kansas is to be congratulated upon the publication of a very useful and comprehensive report.

OHIO POOR RELIEF LAWS

Manual of Ohio Laws Compiled for Social Workers. By F. GALEANA DE PUY and POTITO CARRARA. Prepared for Department of Public Welfare, Hamilton County, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1934. Pp. xii+84+18; iv+91. Mimeographed.

Part I of this *Manual* is an analysis of the *Poor Laws of Ohio* and Part II of *Ohio Laws for the Relief of Special Classes*, not included in the poor law, such as relief for the blind, mothers' aid, old age pensions, institutional care, etc. An Appendix gives a summary of Emergency Relief Legislation. The authors have not merely edited and summarized the statutes but have included court decisions, opinions of attorneys-general, and comment which should give the social worker much assistance in arriving at an understanding of what the law really is.

THE PENNSYLVANIA LABOR DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPRESSION

Pennsylvania Labor and Industry in the Depression. A Review of the Four-Year Period, 1931-1934, and Its Effect upon Worker and Employer, as Encountered in the Department of Labor and Industry's Administration of the State Labor Laws (Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Special Bulletin No. 39). Harrisburg, 1934. Pp. 165+27 charts.

During these years when the number of unemployed in Pennsylvania rose from 27.3 per cent of the working population in January of 1932 to 37.1 per cent in March in 1933 and receded to 23.5 per cent by May of the following year, Pennsylvania had in Charlotte E. Carr a Commissioner of Labor who was resourceful and tireless in discovering new problems in the enforcement of labor laws which accompanied unemployment and in finding new ways in which the state could assist in their solution.

This report shows that the decline in industry meant more and new types of demands on the Labor Department. To it was assigned the task of determining the severity and the rapidity of the economic slump, of investigating the new

"sweat-shop" conditions, of maintaining standards in mines and factories, of expanding the state employment services to meet the re-employment program of the relief administration, of mediating strikes and labor disputes, of watching more carefully than in normal years compensation agreements and the solvency of the compensation insurers. The Department carried this added burden of work with greatly reduced operating expenses.

The work of the several bureaus of the Department, especially as affected by the depression, are described in this report in a way that should make the deficiencies in Pennsylvania's labor legislation as well as the administrative work of the Department more widely appreciated.

Through a CWA project a group of unemployed architects made graphs for the report which follow the general pattern of graphic representation of social conditions originated by Professor Neurath of Vienna. But these gay red and black graphs and charts, which at first sight will attract the reader, are, one finds on reading the report, too numerous and often so complicated as to make an understanding of the material presented more rather than less difficult.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN FLORIDA

Social Welfare in Florida. Report of a survey by EMMA O. LUNDBERG. Florida State Board of Public Welfare Publication, No. 4. Tallahassee, 1934. Pp. 219.

The investigation on which this report is based was made possible by a grant of F.E.R.A. funds to the State Department of Public Welfare of Florida. Miss Lundberg was fortunately secured to plan and supervise the work and to write the report. Florida has as a result a carefully prepared statement of existing conditions and recommendations as to much-needed social welfare legislation and improved administrative machinery. With accounts of reviving prosperity in Florida it would seem possible to induce the state to strengthen its social welfare program along the lines indicated in this report so that in this respect it might approximate the accomplishments of its winter rival California.

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES

Comparability of Maternal Mortality Rates in the United States and Certain Foreign Countries. By ELIZABETH C. TANDY (United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 229). Washington, D.C., 1935. Pp. v+24. \$0.05.

The Committee on Prenatal and Maternal Care of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection appointed a sub-committee in 1930 to study comparability and trend of maternal mortality rates. This report covers one very important aspect of the sub-committee's investigation.

The sub-committee obtained from the Bureau of the Census 1,073 death

certificates for 1927 on which pregnancy or childbirth was given as a cause. The facts concerning 477 of these cases were transmitted to officials of 24 foreign countries with the request that they indicate in each instance whether the death would be attributed to a puerperal or a non-puerperal cause. The results disclosed real differences in classification among the 16 countries that supplied this information. The percentage of these deaths assigned to puerperal causes by the United States was larger than the percentage assigned by any of the co-operating countries except Denmark.

In a very illuminating table the maternal mortality rate of each country is given and in an adjacent column, the rate for the United States expressed in terms of the assignment practices of each of these countries. The rate for the United States, even when thus adjusted, is higher than the official rate for each of the countries with which it is compared, except Scotland.

It has often been said that differences in rates may be due either to varying definitions of the term "live births" or to varying degrees of completeness in registrations. Both of these questions are examined in the report. Evidence is presented to show that variations in the definition of live births could not produce any important inaccuracies in the rates. Incompleteness in registrations is more serious, but the conclusion is reached that this defect cannot be held responsible for more than a few points of the maternal mortality rate. If a generous adjustment is made for this contingency, the United States would still be obliged to acknowledge one of the highest rates in this list of sixteen countries.

This excellent study is an important contribution in a field in which there is special need of precise data and of continuing comparison. It is to be hoped that the United States Bureau of the Census and the International Statistical Institute will be able to carry out the recommendations of the committee.

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CHILDREN IN STREET TRADES

Children Engaged in Newspaper and Magazine Selling and Delivering (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 227). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935. Pp. v+60. \$0.10.

When President Roosevelt approved the code for the daily newspaper publishing business on February 17, 1934, he said he was not satisfied with its child-labor provisions and asked the government members of the code authority to "give particular attention to the provisions authorizing minors to deliver and sell newspapers and report . . . not later than sixty days hence." In order to enable the code authorities to meet this request the Children's Bureau, in co-operation with the Research and Planning Division of the National Recovery Administration, assembled the material which is now published in this report. A rapid field survey of the children under sixteen years of age engaged in this work was made in seventeen representative cities of different parts of the United

States. In four of these, previous studies had been made by the Bureau prior to 1929, and in these cities the proportion of newspaper sellers who were fourteen and fifteen years of age had doubled and the proportion under ten years of age had dropped from 17 to 4 per cent and equally striking changes had taken place among the carriers. In some cities more than 70 per cent of the carriers interviewed were fourteen and fifteen years old. Because of the upper age limit (sixteen years) in the Bureau investigation, reports of great increases in the over-sixteen-year group were not verified by this investigation. Before the depression it used to be said these boys, and those fourteen and fifteen years of age, could not be relied upon for this type of work. Inability to get other types of work is doubtless the explanation of their new interest in newspaper work.

With this decrease in the number of younger boys in the newspaper selling and delivering, the practice of using very young children in magazine distribution was found to have increased in recent years. In the seventeen cities included in the Bureau studies 10 per cent were under ten years of age and 23 per cent ten and eleven years of age, with earnings so low that the chief attraction was evidently the prizes offered.

As the earlier studies made by the Bureau showed that the effects of street sales as indicated by regularity in school, progress made, and delinquency were much more serious than the effects of many prohibited occupations for boys, it is to be hoped that street selling at least under fourteen can be effectively abolished.

VERMIN

Report on the Bed-Bug (Reports on Public Health and Medical Subjects No. 72). By the GREAT BRITAIN MINISTRY OF HEALTH. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1934. Pp. 46. 1s.

Social workers have all had clients who have been made miserable because of the difficulty of getting rid of vermin. As a result of a questionnaire addressed to the London County Council and other municipal authorities, it is estimated that the infesting of houses provided under the various post-war housing acts may be as high as 50 per cent. "Virtually every urban authority is more or less troubled with this problem. It is estimated that in many areas practically all the houses are to a greater or less degree infested with Bed-bugs."

As to whether or not the evil increased the report does not say, but points out that

the fact that the question of infestation by Bed-bugs has come into greater prominence recently is no doubt due largely to the greater attention which is now being paid to insanitary working-class houses. The removal of tenants of old and insanitary bug-infested houses to council houses with their modern conveniences and the spread of general education and knowledge of the value of cleanliness have stimulated the desire among tenants to rid their dwellings of Bed-bugs, and the infestation of council houses has certainly focussed the attention of Local Authorities on the subject. A Local Authority is bound, as landlord, to maintain a high standard of cleanliness in its houses, and the

discovery that one of the evils which slum clearance schemes are designed to remove has spread to the new housing estates is distinctly disquieting.

Quite apart from slum clearance schemes, an increasing amount of effort has been directed during the 15 years that have elapsed since the war towards improving the health and conditions of life of the poorer sections of the community, and the question of vermin and its eradication has come more and more into prominence.

The view is sometimes expressed that Bed-bugs are one of the factors that create slums and that, when once they have obtained a foothold in an area, that area tends to become populated more and more by families who tolerate Bed-bugs and have acquired a certain degree of immunity towards them. To some extent this may be true, but we are convinced that by far the greater number of dwellers in infested houses suffer acutely from the presence of Bed-bugs and are genuinely anxious to get rid of them [p. 4].

In Appendix II there is an interesting account of the Glasgow system for the control of vermin by the use of nurse inspectors under the Glasgow scheme for supervising slum-clearance rehousing schemes. The nurse inspectors

co-operate closely with the City Improvement Department by notifying disrepair of plasterwork, sanitary fittings, etc. Broadly speaking, for efficient supervision a Nurse Inspector is required for every 1,000 houses. Within a few days of new tenants coming into residence a Nurse Inspector visits and carefully examines the premises and furniture for traces of bugs.

Included in the recommendations submitted is the proposal that an instructional memorandum be prepared and issued to Local Authorities for distribution to all sanitary officers and health visitors. This memorandum should be short and concise and should indicate the main points in the recognition of Bed-bugs and the most satisfactory remedial measures. It should aim at essential rather than multiplicity of detail. . . . The memorandum and drawings should be accompanied by a circular letter to Local Authorities drawing attention to the urgency of this problem and emphasising the need for close co-operation between the various Departments concerned.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING

Organization and Management of Co-operative Housing Associations (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 608). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934. Pp. v+35. \$0.05.

This bulletin was prepared at the request of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. It contains suggestions as to the initiation of a co-operative housing enterprise, financing, leases, rental charges, etc., and in the Appendix model by-laws and leases, a member's subscription agreement, and balance sheet for a co-operative housing association.

As the Administration's Housing Program will, doubtlessly, give new impetus to the co-operative movement, this bulletin should be especially useful at this time.

CONTRIBUTORS

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